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Arbatov Critique of Joint SDI Program Viewed

MK2403123092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Savelyev, vice president of the Institute for National Security and Strategic Research, under the rubric "Perspective": "About SDI and 'Free Lunches' Yet Again. Mere Talks About Disarmament Will Not Be Enough"]

[Text] The article by A. Arbatov, director of the Foreign Policy Association Center for Disarmament and Strategic Stability, entitled "Joint SDI: Will It Help Anybody's Security?" (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA for 4 March 1992), which was written in connection with my interview (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA for 18 February 1992), raises extremely important questions connected with the Russian leadership's initiative on creating together with the United States a global anti-ballistic missile [ABM] system. The author expresses a largely negative attitude toward both the initiative in question and my interpretation of the idea—the idea of "moderate" participation by Russia in this program along with the simultaneous relaxation of restrictions on creating and deploying defensive systems by replacing the ABM Treaty with a new Russian-American agreement.

The importance of this topic forces me to return once again to this question, well "visited" though it is, as the author says. But it is clearly worth mentioning at this point that in our country it has been "visited" by critics of SDI, who have competed with each other in arguments against ABM defenses. Now, albeit rather late, the time has come to listen to the supporters of defensive systems.

Without going into details of the debates about this problem, I will dwell on a few fundamental points. Thus, after the U.S. Administration put forward in 1991 the idea of creating "GPALS," the global protection against limited strikes into which SDI had been transformed, the opponents of ABM defenses lost a whole series of "trump cards" that they had actively used in their struggle against the original version of the SDI program. One of these "trump cards" was the clear correctness of the critics' contention that the present standard of technology will not make it possible to create in the foreseeable future an "impenetrable astrodome" capable of intercepting a coordinated first strike using hundreds of ballistic missiles and thousands of warheads. This question has now been removed, since it is a question of a limited ABM system designed to resolve far more modest and realistic tasks.

The second argument was that global ABM defenses could probably be used to intercept a weakened retaliatory strike. This could create an incentive for the power possessing such ABM defenses to attack. This problem too has been settled today, although it could be taken into account at sharply lowered levels of nuclear confrontation, given a considerable increase in the vulnerability of strategic offensive weapons. But it should also be considered here that the sides can lower their levels of strategic offensive weapons to a few hundred delivery vehicles only if there is an immeasurably higher level of trust between them. And in the present case they will be obliged to take every measure to increase the survivability of their strategic offensive weapons as much as possible and to decrease their "attractiveness" for use in a first strike, for instance, by switching to single-warhead [odnozaryadnyy] delivery vehicles.

The third claim—that global ABM defenses will cost trillions—is also invalid. The cost of such a system, as A. Arbatov rightly indicates, is around $50 billion at present. If you "break it down" over the period of deployment indicated in the aforementioned article (10-15 years), the annual expenditure will be at the level of $20-25 per year ($1.5-2 per month) per U.S. inhabitant. And this spending will scarcely undermine the United States' efforts in other spheres, as the aforementioned author claims (expansion of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] inspectorate, creation of new monitoring [kontrol] systems and safer types of nuclear power station, and so forth), especially as most such spending does not come under the military budget and has never been regarded as an alternative to military programs.

Another argument of the opponents of ABM defenses—that there will be an inevitable intensification of the arms race if the ABM Treaty is abandoned—also does not hold water, since it is a question of replacing this obsolete document with a new agreement permitting the limited deployment of defensive systems contributing to increased security for the sides. Moreover, we are openly being offered cooperation in this sphere.

Now for the ABM Treaty itself. It is obvious that this document is obsolete and does not accord with the existing level of international and Russian-American relations. It is also obvious that this treaty suffers from a whole series of defects making it possible to evade its provisions without even formally violating the letter of the agreement. Thus even opponents of strategic defenses admit the importance of timely warning of a nuclear missile attack. So the creation and deployment of such systems, including in space, is regarded as a contribution to strengthening strategic stability.

At the same time the ABM Treaty prohibits the deployment in space of components of ABM defenses capable not only of "getting a fix" on the launch of a strategic missile but also of guiding interceptor systems to it. I am referring to space-based radars and devices capable of taking the place of these radars in performing this function. But the whole point is that the space-based sensors that are being developed [razrabatyvayemyy] under the GPALS program are supposed to perform both these tasks. And no means of technical verification are capable of "betraying" the characteristic differences between them: This is an integrated system, the fruit of scientific and technical progress. The ABM Treaty itself does not give a definition of an ABM component capable

of taking the place of space-based radars, so the question of whether such sensors are permitted or prohibited under the treaty remains open.

That is not the ABM Treaty's most serious flaw. What is far more important is the fact that this treaty does not prohibit and in no way restricts the creation, testing, and deployment of air defense and "tactical" ABM systems. In practice this means that this treaty permits the development of means of countering strategic aircraft and effectively submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's), since "tactical" ABM defenses will almost certainly gain this potential in the course of technical improvements. And the distinction between systems to intercept warheads of nonstrategic missiles and SLBM warheads may become extremely shaky or, to be more accurate, will cease to exist altogether, since the same systems will be capable of performing this function.

Thus, whether they want to or not, those who advocate retaining the ABM treaty are effectively preaching the idea that it is possible and necessary to develop means of combating the least dangerous strategic systems (aircraft and SLBM's) but not the most dangerous (ICBM's). Or, to put it another way: It is correct and fine to combat stabilizing weapons for a retaliatory strike, but wrong and dangerous to combat destabilizing weapons designed to deliver a first strike. That is peculiar logic.

But let us return to A. Arbatov's article. As we can see, he allows the possibility of cooperation between Russia and the United States in the aforementioned spheres ("tactical" ABM defenses and air defenses) while denying the need to create a global ABM system. What danger does A. Arbatov see if the sides abandon the ABM Treaty and Russia takes a "moderate" part in SDI? (Incidentally, let us note that such participation might find expression precisely in joint work on "tactical" ABM defenses, which are now an integral part of the GPALS program.) If you set aside the emotional aspect of the expert's article, several such points can be noted.

Thus he expresses the fear that, if SDI is continued, the money appropriated for it will be used among other things to finance an economic "carrot and stick" policy on questions of nuclear nonproliferation—regarding a number of countries, among which the author includes the CIS members, not excluding Russia.

But, as is well known, we are already receiving "carrots" in the form of humanitarian aid. And as for the "stick," according to the expert's logic, without that the carrot is not a carrot.

The second claim is that if Russia meets the United States halfway in the latter's desire to ensure the defense of its own population, allies, and friends (including Russia) from accidental and unsanctioned missile launches and nuclear terror involving threats to use ballistic missiles, we will be made to pay for this. The United States will demand the unilateral nuclear disarmament of Russia and the restructuring and redeployment of the Army and Navy on Washington's instructions...

It is hard to say what gives the expert grounds for such conclusions. Or is the Untied States indulging in such diktat vis-a-vis Britain, France, Germany, and other countries? Or are there examples of the United States issuing instructions to its friends and allies on where they should "redeploy their navy"? Or does A. Arbatov think that if the ABM Treaty is replaced by another agreement Russia will be transformed into an American colony, ceasing to be an independent state?

What is presented to us as the "main path" in the development of Russian-American relations? The proposals mainly boiled down to strengthening the regime of nonproliferation, whose importance nobody contests. But what it is impossible to agree with is the counterposing of those measures to the creation of global defenses. Those two programs can perfectly well exist in parallel, mutually reinforcing each other. Then in a number of cases the need to implement military sanctions against potential violators of that regime, which is something the author also calls for, might disappear since the incentive to create and utilize these dangerous weapons would be sharply reduced for the violators.

Finally, he proposes "painstaking and persistent work" to dismantle the sides' accumulated nuclear arsenals. Without denying the importance of talks on disarmament, let us note that, as the author himself admits, such work in the seventies and eighties served rather to legalize the arms race. Today, too, talks alone in this sphere will not be enough.

In the new conditions of Russian-American relations what may be no less important is a series of unilateral actions to lessen nuclear confrontation, agreed initiatives in this sphere, and joint steps to strengthen security, including participation in joint military programs. It is indeed time to find a common language with our potential ally, beginning by attempting to rid ourselves of suspicions that anyone wants to "lunch at someone else's expense."

Kyrgyz President Explains Uranium Exports

PM2303170192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Paklin report: "Kyrgyzstan Offers Uranium for Export"]

[Text] Delhi—"The likelihood of the formation of a federation of Muslim states involving the Central Asian republics of the CIS is virtually zero," President A. Akayev of Kyrgyzstan said at a press conference in Delhi. "Such an alliance of states is impossible in the form of either a federation or a confederation. The Central Asian republics are very different. And we are traveling different roads..."

People in India regard this statement by A. Akayev as support for its position. Delhi resolutely opposes the plans to create a bloc of fundamentalist states. Following the breakup of the USSR Islamic fundamentalists in neighboring countries have had hopes of involving the former Soviet Central Asian republics in such a bloc.

"There is no basis in Kyrgyzstan for fundamentalism, our people are not contaminated with it, we have never had religious confrontation," the president stressed. "We are certainly promoting the revival of religion, but it serves exclusively to assert moral values in society. We are against religious interference in government of the state."

The second question concerned the presence in Kyrgyzstan of nuclear weapons and nuclear technologies. The Kyrgyz leader's response caused a sensation here.

"There are no nuclear weapons or nuclear weapon components in the republic. However we do produce a large quantity of enriched uranium. Our uranium was used in the first Soviet atomic and thermonuclear bombs and at nuclear power stations. We are willing to sell enriched uranium to other countries. If India needs it, I don't think that there will be any problem in reaching agreement on shipments of this material. However, Kyrgyzstan will not allow enriched uranium to escape to "undesirable" countries. The International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations must name those countries..."

This statement from A. Akayev caused India to heave a sigh of relief. Of late a great deal has been said in Delhi about the possibility of the development of a "Muslim atomic bomb." The CIS Central Asian republics, which possess various nuclear technologies and scientific cadres, have been named as potential participants in this. Fears have even been voiced that nuclear weapons sited in Kazakhstan might fall into the hands of Islamic fundamentalists.

Broaching the future of Kyrgyz-Indian relations, A. Akayev favored comprehensively developing these relations. "There were friendly, mutually beneficial relations between the Soviet Union and India. The countries of our Commonwealth want to preserve and augment these relations. Our present visit confirms this. We reached total mutual understanding with India on this matter." However the president of Kyrgyzstan ruled out the possibility of action by the republic on India's side in the event of an armed conflict. "We have advocated a status of permanent neutrality," A. Akayev stressed. "Kyrgyzstan is the only country in the Commonwealth that has decided not to have its own army. This is enshrined in our Declaration of Independence."

Nuclear Issues

Further on Nuclear Power Station Accident

'Plain Fabrications' Noted

MK2403163592 St Petersburg Teleradiokompaniya Peterburg Television Network in Russian 1420 GMT 24 Mar 92

[From the "Teletekst" teletext newscast]

[Text] Many news agencies today reported on the events that occured at the LAES [Leningradskaya Nuclear Power Station] last night. We can immediately reassure you: Background radiation is within norms and there is no danger to the surrounding areas.

According to a report from City Hall, the accident prevention system on the operating third reactor unit of the LAES went into operation on 24 March due to damage to one of the technological ducts of the reactor compartment. In accordance with standing procedures, the LAES staff is carrying out the prescribed operations to cool down the third power unit. There is no danger to the workers or the population. The quantity of radioactive gases and aerosols in Sosnovyy Bor city and in the surrounding sanitary protection zone does not exceed medical norms. ["TASS" appears in caption at top of screen]

Reports disseminated by some foreign press agencies about a supposed radioactive leak last night at the LAES have been described as plain fabrications. A. Kuznetsov, the duty shift chief at the station, said that the electronic system had functioned properly and that the radiation level was within norms. There have been no changes in these parameters over the past day.

The Finnish Center for Radiation Safety reported that no increase in the level of radiation was observed in Finland in connection with the accident in the third reactor unit of the Leningrad Nuclear Power Station. ["TASS" logo disappears]

We contacted A.S. Kuznetsov, duty officer at the LAES. He reported: Public health norms for emissions into the atmosphere through filtration systems were not exceeded. As to the possibility of a radioactive leak within the station, it is possible that such a leak occurred, but only in unmanned [neobitayemyy] premises. There is no data on the nature of this leak within the LAES insofar as there are no permanent sensors which could determine the parameters of the maximum permissible discharge in these locations. Sensors on the ventilation pipes registering emissions to the outside did not register an increase in the medical norms. ["INTERFAX" logo appears at top of screen]

Specialists presume that the accident may have occurred because of a manufacturing defect. At present, the reactor is being cooled down to permit an overhaul.

There will be no interruptions to the power supply. ["INTERFAX" logo disappears]

As A.S. Kuznetsov told us, it will take three to four days to cool the reactor. A commission is investigating the cause of the incident at the station. There is no cause for concern.

Ministry Provides Details

LD2403194992 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The Press Centre of the Russian Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry has issued a statement on the situation at the Leningrad nuclear power plant.

"At 2:37 P.M. [as received] on March 24, 1992, reactor number 3, which was working at the rated power, was stopped by the automatic over-voltage protection system after the pressure in the reactor increased to the dangerous level (750 mm water column). The increase was caused by a damage of the fuel channel of the reactor's 52-16 cell.

"The activity of the coolant remained unchanged. The system of localisation of steam and gas discharge functioned normally.

"A daily radioactive discharge is expected to reach: Inert radioactive gases—64 per cent of the allowed level, Iodine-131—up to 200 per cent and short-lived isotopes—up to 50 per cent.

"At 13:00 on March 24, the air at the nuclear power plant contained: Iodine-131—0,0013 per cent of the allowed level and Caesium-137—0,00012 per cent.

"In the city: Iodine-131—0,00007 per cent and Caesium-137 - 0,00005 per cent. The level of gamma radiation at the nuclear power plant was 14-16 microroentgen per hour, which is within limits.

"The accident has registered two points on the international seven-point scale".

The chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations, Sergey Shoygu, has issued an official statement on the accident at the Leningrad nuclear power plant.

"At 2:37 on March 24, 1992, RBMK-1000 reactor number three (Chernobyl type) at the Leningrad nuclear power plant, which was working at the rated power, was deactivated after the pressure in the reactor exceeded the allowed level.

"The accident has registered three points on the international seven-point scale used by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to measure nuclear accidents".

"The discharge of radioactive gases into the atmosphere during the leak reached 6,000 curie per day and dropped to 3,000 curie two hours later. At 8:00 on March 24, 1992 the level of radioactive gases was 800 curie and only 319 curie at 14:30.

"The allowed discharge for four nuclear reactors is 2,000 curie per day.

"The level of radiation at the nuclear power plant and adjacent territory was within limits at 8:00.

"There have been no changes in the level of radiation in the cities of Sosnovy Bor and Zelenogorsk, according to the Institute of Radiology.

"A mobile radioactive patrol between St. Petersburg and Zelenogorsk did not register any changes in the level of radiation, according to the Neftgeologia association.

"According to the Russian Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry, the level of iodine and caesium in the soil, water and air was within limits.

"The level of radioactivity of the circuit water is within limits, which means that the fuel assembly has not been damaged.

"Emission forecasts are favourable, except for iodine, the level of which is expected to exceed the norm by four times. Measures are being taken to lower the level of iodine.

"The situation is under control. The analysis of the level of radiation shows that no special measures of protection of residents of Sosnovy Bor are needed".

Report on Radiation Leak

LD2503095792 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyayev]

[Text] Rome March 25 TASS—The discharge of radioactive substances into the atmosphere in the wake of the accident at the Leningrad nuclear power station was 10,000 times less than during the Chernobyl disaster, the World Laboratory has reported using the data stored in its electronic information network.

A report by the Italian News Agency ANSA from Erice in Sicily, where the World Laboratory Center is located, says that reactor number three of the Leningrad nuclear power station was shut down automatically on the night of the accident. It will take three to four days to cool.

No additional radioactive discharges are expected,—the World Laboratory said in a statement,—and the atmospheric state is such that the contaminated air mass is suspended over the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland.

At the recent seminars held by the World Laboratory in Erice, ANSA said, scientists from the former Soviet republics reported that about 40 nuclear powers stations of the Chernobyl type are still operating on the territory

of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Leningrad station belongs to the same category.

Not 'Second Chernobyl'

PM2403223192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 92 p 1

[O. Volkov report: "Leningrad AES: Fortunately, It Has Not Come to a Second Chernobyl"]

[Text] Last night at 0237 Moscow time an emergency [neshtatnyy] situation occurred at the nuclear power station [AES] at Sosnovyy Bor, which is located approximately 100 km from St. Petersburg. Some news agencies have reported the leak of radioactive iodine and inert gases into the atmosphere.

Fortunately, it has not come to a second Chernobyl. Boris Klyuchnikov, leading engineer at the station's inquiries and information group, said that there is no comparison. In his words, a grade-three emergency according to the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] seven-grade scale occurred (the Chernobyl accident was scale seven), which does not require extra protective measures outside the station.

"The reactor protection system automatically switched off the No. 3 power unit owing to a seal failure in one of the tubes of the reactor compartment," Klyuchnikov explained. "This means that moisture from the reactor's second water-cooling circuit got into the gas circuit. The reactor is now switched off and is cooling down. Repair workers will subsequently start replacing the fuel channel. Repair work of this nature will last around 10-12 days."

"Was there a discharge of radioactive substances into the atmosphere?"

"You must understand that there was a discharge of radioactive iodine and inert gases into the atmosphere, but—I would stress—inside the actual reactor or, to be more precise, its gas circuit. In principle an increase in radioactivity is perfectly feasible as these gases escape, but our electonic sensors on the filters do not register any excess of the levels permitted for atomic power stations."

Boris Vasilyevich assured me that the situation at the station is perfectly calm—"perhaps a touch more concern than usual." He also said that an outing by second- and third-year pupils and teachers from the the city's No. 5 School is taking place within approximately 200 meters of No. 3 power unit. "The Finnish specialists who have come to work for us on an exchange scheme are not nervous, either."

Artur Petrov, representative of the State Committee for the Supervision of Nuclear and Radiation Safety, corroborated what Klyuchnikov said, but added that enhanced aerosol radioactivity is recorded in certain sections of the power unit and people are working with respirators on. He said that the discharges of radioactive substances in the first few hours amounted to 1,000-3,000 curies, but have now fallen to 400 curies and are continuing to decrease.

According to A. Petrov, the city leadership has broadcast explanations on local radio, and the sanitary and epidemiological inspectorate has carried out an additional appraisal of the station. The radiation level does not exceed the normal 20 microroentgens per hour.

'Brain Drain' Scare Economically Inspired

PM2403150992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Panov "Commentary": "Nuclear Fuss"]

[Text] Following the statement by Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk about setting up an International Atomic Center close to Chernobyl, the fuss over the nuclear legacy of the former USSR, which had been growing for several months, became deafening.

It began with suspicions about the departure of Soviet nuclear scientists for countries with not the most democratic regimes which dream of acquiring their own atom bomb. No facts were cited, but, strange though it may seem, no one even demanded any—suspicions, which for some reason acquired the force of facts, were enough. There were reports of sales of radioactive materials abroad, and in quite fantastic quantities, too. Again there was no proof, and again no one expressed a desire to hear any proof—the sensations themselves took its place. Then, at last, there was President Kravchuk's statement. And a statement in reply, so to speak, from scientists of the Russian Nuclear Center—a protest, a warning, a proposal to think better of it.

You get the impression from the latter document that the scientists had taken L. Kravchuk's words seriously. Well, yes, the creation of the International Atomic Center in Ukraine is theoretically possible. But who, if not leading specialists, must understand that it is a technically pointless and economically unrealistic matter? Who, if not they, must know that construction will take between five and 10 years and vast sums of money? The USSR's nuclear complex was being created from 1944 and "stripped" the country bare, but all the same our research centers lag far behind U.S. ones. Who, if not nuclear scientists, must know that there are insufficient cadres in Ukraine to resolve such a task?...

Therefore it seems to me, for example, that the scientists' statement was inspired by someone. For some reason it was very opportune that 11 leaders of committees and commissions of the Russian Parliament found themselves in Arzamas-16. It was necessary to make a political response to Kravchuk's political statement (it is beyond doubt that it pursued primarily political ends). They responded by drawing into the game physicists engaged on real, not imaginary, problems of security. They responded, adding a loud drum roll to the universal nuclear fuss.

Of course, it is no accident that this fuss is being made. It is advantageous to someone. Both abroad and, apparently, in Russia.

Let us take the notorious question of the "brain drain." I have been told at the Russian Nuclear Ministry that none of the scientists who really know about secret technologies has yet "drained" abroad. "Competent organs" report the same thing in response to the Nuclear Ministry's requests. In addition, neither 100 nor 500 Soviet physicists would be able to make a bomb even for a fabulously rich dictator. In order to get near creating weapons it is necessary to spend decades developing a research and industrial culture or buying so-called "sensitive" technologies. There are lots of them, and they are not sold—in accordance with international pledges. But illegal channels quickly come to light, as, owing to the multiplicity of technologies, they become too wide.

The "brain drain" question has another side that is insulting to our physicists. They are portrayed as carriers of mortal danger to all mankind, as some kind of terrible beasts that must be kept in cages. But, like all free people, they are free to go wherever they think fit. Are U.S. physicists really locked up in zoos called Livermore or Los Alamos? Do they really not head for Israel, let us assume?

So what is it? It is that it is more advantageous to buy brains not retail but wholesale, in the form of established, efficient collectives. For this they must switch to fulfilling Western orders while remaining in Russia. In just a little while it will come to this, as our own state's orders will come to naught, and the means for existence will disappear along with them. Then it will be possible to buy the brains of our professor-theoretician for the ridiculous sum of $10 a month.

The fuss over the leak of fissile materials from CIS countries can also be explained. We are ready to enter the world market with a large quantity of enriched uranium for nuclear electric power stations, and—thanks to superb energy-intensive technologies—it is cheap. No one needs such a competitor. They seek to denigrate such a competitor. To create an opinion, for example, about his scorn for moral norms, his endeavoring to get rich in circumvention of the law, his disrespect for international treaties. This is what is being done.

Russia's advantageous presence on the world uranium market requires preparation. In particular, it is necessary to seek an increase in quotas. So there is a problem, only it is quite a different one: a specific business problem. The "brain drain" problem also exists, only it is a drain not to dictators in deserts but to countries in nearby foreign parts. Specialists of 30 nationalities work at Arzamas-16. Tired of the gloom, Ukrainians are leaving for Ukraine, Moldovans for Moldova, and Lithuanians for Lithuania. They are seeking a better lot. Because an academician's wage, at the present rate of exchange, does not exceed six dollars a month, because people who worked for 40 years under extreme conditions receive pensions just above the set minimum, because the institute has now been living on credit for several months. Because, finally, they have no possibility of fulfilling their professional duty of enhancing the security of nuclear weapons.

These, I repeat, are real, not imaginary, problems of security. By no means the problems of Arzamas physicists, but of the state. Of course, it is difficult to resolve them. We have not yet embarked on the elimination of the nuclear arsenal, and yet it is a task of tremendous complexity. Principled political decisions have already been adopted here. Now, like the majority of other urgent tasks, it requires organizational, economic, technological, and professional solutions. But while the nuclear fuss drones on, this task cannot be dragged out of the near-political quagmire. While it rumbles on, it is possible to remain in the usual apparatus rut: to travel out to the provinces, meet with the people, organize responses, ask people to be patient, and promise, promise, promise.

Foreign Ministers Issue Declaration on Moldova

LD2403211392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1524 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Helsinki, 24 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"Gathered together on 23 March 1992 in Helsinki, the foreign ministers of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania, and Ukraine expressed serious concern at the dangerous development of the situation in the left-bank regions of the Republic of Moldova, the continuing violence and human casualties, and the threat which this train of events poses to the democratic processes in the states of the region." This is stated in a joint declaration, the text of which was published today in the Finnish capital.

The main elements of a political settlement of the crisis were defined in the statement by the heads of the CIS member states adopted in Kiev on 20 March, the declaration points out. The ministers also highlighted the significance of the government statement of 16 March, which emphasized the need for a cessation of violence and a peaceful political settlement.

The ministers confirmed that their governments will undertake further steps to prevent an escalation of bloodshed and the involvement in it of citizens of foreign states, and to ensure their immediate return to their place of residence where this has happened.

In this context they took note of the Romanian Foreign Ministry statement of 8 March, which declared that Romanian citizens have in no way been drawn into the conflict and have not taken part in the armed hostilities.

Guided by the aims and principles of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, the participants in the meeting regard the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Moldova as the basis of their policy in mutual relations with this UN member state, as well as in the resolution of this conflict, the document notes. With the aim of ensuring a cease-fire and the restoration of lawful authority on the ground, the ministers came out in favor of the swiftest possible disarmament of all unlawful units and a prohibition on their rearming. They called upon the parties involved in the conflict to show restraint and to refuse to employ force as a means of settling disputes.

The ministers stressed the importance of observing human rights, including those of persons belonging to ethnic minorities, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the CSCE, and the commonly accepted norms of international law. The necessary conditions for the return of refugees and the provision to them of appropriate humanitarian aid will be ensured, the declaration states. The ministers agreed to coordinate efforts to resolve the conflict and to this end to set up a mechanism of political consultations, including at foreign minister level. It has been decided to hold the first summit of ministers in April of this year.

Pessimistic Media Reaction to Kiev Summit Cited

PM2403150592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 3

[Aleksandr Golts article: "Commonwealth 'Limps Along the Old Path'"]

[Text] Whatever you say, being determines consciousness. It is this, in my view, which explains the different assessments of the meeting in Kiev of the CIS heads of state given by, on the one hand, official Western circles and, on the other, by the foreign mass media and analysts.

In the wake of some of its participants the U.S. President described the results of the Kiev "summit" as "very interesting and quite positive."

But whereas the situation compels both our and foreign politicians to seek pearls of constructiveness in the results of the talks, others unburdened by official ties by no means consider themselves obliged to do this. "Talks within the CIS framework become a war of words," "Russia and Ukraine clash over arms." Those are some of the headlines in the London newspapers. The founders of the CIS, a commentator for West Germany's ZDF TV thinks, "are back where they started, continuing their dispute over the wreckage of the former Soviet Union." He is backed up by T. Brokaw, the well-known U.S. NBC-TV presenter: "If you haven't gotten totally accustomed to the name CIS, don't worry. Judging by how things are developing it won't last long."

Sad as it may be, there are extremely serious grounds for such pessimistic conclusions and forecasts. They reside above all in the fact that the Russian and Ukrainian leaders retain their diametrically opposed views of a number of highly important issues. "The meeting in Kiev," the FINANCIAL TIMES states, "was an arena for the further escalation of tension between Russia and Ukraine." Britain's THE DAILY TELEGRAPH sees a direct link here between Kravchuk's tough line and what happened in front of the building where the "summit" participants were gathered. "Given that hundreds of demonstrators outside were chanting 'Down with the CIS,' Kravchuk was partially playing to the gallery," the newspaper commented.

Contradictions of unprecedented acuteness also predetermined foreign observers' attitude toward the positive things achieved in Kiev. "The few accords that it proved possible to secure (primarily concerning the status of and control over the Commonwealth Armed Forces) seem increasingly inappropriate in a situation where such republics as Ukraine are rapidly implementing plans to create their own armed forces," THE GUARDIAN believes.

The foreign press sees maybe the only indisputably positive result of this meeting in the fact that N. Nazarbayev succeeded in persuading everyone of the need to create collective Commonwealth peacekeeping forces.

However, LIBERATION rightly says that the agenda is expanding from meeting to meeting because the questions which are causing disagreements are being put off until the next session.

Foreign colleagues are wondering quite naturally today what aims CIS leaders are, strictly speaking, pursuing in gathering for their "summits." The supposition voiced by Germany's DER TAGESSPIEGEL is not devoid of foundation, in my view: "Anyone who observes CIS summit forums cannot help but notice that they act as an alibi for some republic presidents. These leaders oppose a community that could call their national-state competence into question. At the same time they do not want to see themselves as digging this community's grave."

Well, what next? I would point out for those who rush to reproach me for laying it on thick: Our headline contains words from the most optimistic forecast. It comes from LE MONDE: "Not everything is that bad. There is no reason for the CIS not to continue to limp along its old path."

So, the Western credit of trust in the CIS, credit which is melting away from one "summit" to the next, has still not been totally depleted. However, the foreign press's pessimistic reaction to the meeting in Kiev represents an extremely serious warning to the CIS leaders.

Threat of CIS Armed Forces's Disintegration

PM2403121992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA commentator Aleksandr Golts article under "Topic of the Week" rubric: "World Alarmed About Future of CIS Armed Forces. More Than Our Politicians"]

[Text] You would have thought that the West might rejoice. The army which they saw as a potential adversary for so many decades is breaking up. The combat readiness of the conventional armed forces in the CIS is today at its lowest level in the last 10 years, CIA Director R. Gates thinks. The army has ended up the "whipping boy" in all regional conflicts, the foreign press says. Things have reached the point, THE NEW YORK TIMES claims, where the future of the army has in many areas been decided by individual commanders, who are putting the forces under their jurisdiction under the control of local political leaders and in some cases putting weapons up for sale. Literally a day does not go by without a report appearing in one foreign newspaper or another about how everything is being sold off in the former Union—from secret documentation on cruise missiles and videocassettes recording all our space technology's abortive launches to nuclear warheads.

I will not venture to determine which of the articles on this score conform with the facts and which do not. But it is obvious that the West is by no means about to celebrate the disintegration of our army. On the contrary, most reports are characterized solely by their tone of alarm. The concern voiced not only by the mass media but also by government circles peaked this week when the leaders of a number of republics took several major steps ahead of the Kiev conference to change the military-political situation in the CIS.

The initiative here belongs to L. Kravchuk, who announced that he was suspending the withdrawal of tactical nuclear munitions from the republic's territory and his plans to create the republic's own center to destroy these weapons. Not unreasonably, leading Western countries saw this action as undermining the previous accords on control of nuclear arsenals. And they demanded explanations. The U.S. State Department announced that, following this, Ukraine's representatives "confirmed their commitment to withdraw all tactical nuclear arms to Russia by mid-1992." The official line is, as it turns out, that Kiev was only seeking guarantees that the nuclear weapons being withdrawn are indeed being destroyed. But what about the plans to create their own capacities to destroy nuclear weapons (plans that leading nuclear scientists claim have absolutely no material substance) announced by Kravchuk? It is logical to assume that, after encountering tough Western pressure, the Ukrainian leaders were forced to cut their losses and abandon a move which would seemingly have given them an advantage at the coming meeting.

B. Yeltsin made the next move by deciding to create a Russian Defense Ministry. The West responded to this with greater understanding than it afforded Ukraine's action but also without enthusiasm. Yeltsin's decision was seen as an enforced step taken in the face of the centrifugal tendencies that are increasingly enveloping the Armed Forces. However, the U.S. State Department considered it necessary at this juncture to once again stress the "importance of centralized control over the former Union's nuclear arsenal." While AP indicated in a commentary that steps designed to create their own armies in Russia and Kazakhstan (the reference being to N. Nazarbayev's decision to form a republic guard) "virtually reduce to zero the possibility of reaching agreement during the meeting in Kiev on preserving the unified armed forces."

These gloomy forecasts have been transposed from the future of the army to the future of the Commonwealth as a whole. Having been in existence for barely more than three months, the CIS is on the verge of collapse, London's THE INDEPENDENT noted. The latest steps taken by the republics in the military sphere, the newspaper thinks, "may put the last nail in the coffin of the frail alliance rent by ethnic conflict, economic anarchy, and military rivalry." I would add to this the supremely pessimistic conclusions drawn in the report by H.-J. Vogel, deputy chairman of the Socialist International, prepared on the basis of the results of a three-day tour of the CIS: "Reason indicates the need to preserve albeit a minimum of cooperation. However, nationalist feelings in a number of republics run so deep that it is hard to imagine the formation of any directive organs."

As I write this article the results of the Kiev "summit" are unknown. I very much want to be mistaken, but at present I must agree with the pessimistic forecasts. A number of factors—the need to discuss two dozen documents that have not been properly coordinated by the republics, the new military-political realities that these documents failed to take into consideration, and, last, the fact that the republic leaders have totally different approaches to these documents—make it possible to conclude that the Kiev meeting may just be a matter of routine statements of intent. A definitive decision—be it a decision on the principles governing the formation of Joint Armed Forces or a decision on the civilized division of the former Soviet Army—will simply not be adopted. Consequently a situation whereby the Armed Forces simply lack a juridical status that everyone recognizes and no one disputes will be maintained—a situation that alarms the world and poses a danger to the CIS itself.

This means that the political games with the army and the wild "privatization free-for-all" ["prikhvatizatsiya"] involving arms will also continue. Moreover, the situation in our "hot spots" shows that these arms can end up and are ending up not in the hands of the national armies only just being set up but in the hands of formations that do not come under the jurisdiction of republic governments. It is obvious that the projected future vagueness toward the Armed Forces threatens their total disintegration, with all the ensuing consequences. Our politicians are for some reason reluctant to see this. But the rest of the world can see it, and it is very fearful.

French Navy Officers, Sailors Visit Vladivostok

OW2303054892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Mar 92

[S. Dudik video report; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] So here is the long awaited moment of meeting, or just one more touch in the history of France and Russia. [video shows French Vice Admiral Kirra coming down the gang plank, and being greeted by a Russian Navy admiral]

There is special symbolism in this event, you must agree: When the military begins to speak the language of diplomats, it is the true path to truth, reason, and the heart of man. If we remember one more son of France, Roget Marten (Dugar), who wrote: Each generation has not the right to avoid its duty. It should pass on to the next generation, a more ripened experience, an enriched form of life. [video shows welcoming ceremony, inspection, and parade, the cuts to show press conference]

A press conference was held the same day by Vice Admiral Francois Kirra, commander of the French Navy in the Pacific.

The first acquaintance took place at the Makarov Pacific Higher Naval School. [video shows a brief class session, then, cuts to show Dudik interviewing two French officers speaking French with simultaneous Russian translation]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified French officer] I think that it was a really good natured reception. The whole crew of the "Jeanne d'Arc" said the local population geve the the French sailors a new kind of reception. [end recording]

Greek Military Delegation Begins Moscow Visit

LD2503063592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—A delegation from the General Staff of the Greek Armed Forces headed by Aviation Major General N. Paraskeviotis, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Greek Armed Forces, arrived in Moscow for an official visit.

From 23-27 March the Greek servicemen will hold official working meetings at the General Staff of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. The delegation will also visit a number of troop units of the Moscow Military District.

U.S. Group Brings Medicines to Black Sea

PM2403151392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 2

[Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin report: "Americans Run Medicine 'Blockade'"]

[Text] Sevastopol—While the Black Sea Fleet is the epicenter of political events and the question of its affiliation is being decided, Black Sea seamen are receiving virtually no medicine from Moscow. They are living off old stocks, but, needless to say, these are not infinite.

Here is an unexpected piece of news: The "blockade" has been broken... by the Americans. A delegation from the U.S. charitable organization "Amerikiyes" represented by Ann-Liz Braun, John Riel, and WALL STREET JOURNAL correspondent Dzheral Seyb has airlifted 39 tonnes of 60 different medicines worth $1.2 million from the United States to Moscow and from there to the Crimea specially for the Black Sea Fleet.

This act of charity was carried out within the framework of a wide-ranging program to provide the CIS countries with humanitarian aid.

U.S. Development Agency Aid Program Announced

LD2503092792 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington, March 24 TASS—The U.S. Agency for International Development announced on Monday 23 March] about formation of a "special group", among the aims of which will be coordination and realisation of aid programmes to the member countries of the CIS. According to the director of the administration, Ronald Roskins, the cost of these humanitarian and other aids will be 740 million dollars.

The group will be headed by one of the senior officials of the Agency for International Development, holding the rank of a minister plenipotentiary, Malcolm Butler, who has been entitled to take active measures broadening assistance to the former Soviet republics. The administration set aside funds intended for the CIS public health system, medical equipments and medicine, purchase and distribution of food products, provision of emergency and humanitariian aid. The administration is also planning to broaden the house-building programme in the countries of the new Commonwealth, reforms in the sphere of economic reconstruction and in financial sector, improvement in power engineering sector through its modernisation, conducting marketing reforms and development of the private sector of the economy. The programmes of the administration also provide for rendering technical assistance to the CIS and training of qualified specialists in different spheres.

The creation of the "special group", "reflects the vast importance", the United States and the whole world attach to the success of reforms in the CIS, and shows the determination of the administration to carry out the top priority task", Ronald Roskins emphasised.

CIS Summit

Further Documents of the 20 Mar CIS Summit

Armed Forces Supplies Agreement

LD2403143192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 24 Mar 92

["CIS Agreement on Maintaining Supplies to CIS Armed Forces," adopted by the CIS summit in Kiev on 20 March]

[Text] [no dateline as received] **Agreement**

Based on the principle of maintaining supplies to the Armed Forces of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States of weapons, military equipment, and other material means and of organizing scientific research and experimental design work.

The states party to this agreement, considering the cooperation in developing [razrabotka] and manufacturing weapons and military equipment which has been established and which has proven itself, and considering it necessary to maintain scientific potential in further improving weapons and military equipment, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

Development, manufacture, supply and provision to the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces of weapons, military equipment, goods for manufacturing and technical purposes, and other material resources, and accumulation of all these is to be carried out in accordance with unified plans agreed between the Commonwealth member states for ordering and supplying military goods financed from a single defense budget (of the Commonwealth member states' own armed forces—on the principles of mutual accounting at agreed prices), maintaining and developing cooperative ties in production of goods for military purposes and maintaining long-term production and economic relations and direct contracts.

Article 2

The Commonwealth member states signatory to the agreement on Joint Armed Forces bind themselves to finance the development [razrabotka], production, and supply of weapons, military equipment, and other material resources for the Joint Armed Forces from a single defense budget; and (?those member states) which have their own armed forces, including those transferred to operational subordination to the high command of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, will do so on a contract basis.

Article 3

Regulation of supplies and developments of the main types of military goods is to be carried out at the level of governments of the Commonwealth member states. The appropriate management bodies of the Commonwealth member states are to be charged with supervising [kontrol] the conclusion of contracts for mutual supplies.

Article 4

The repair and manufacture of weapons, military equipment, and military technical property at enterprises of the Joint Armed Forces and the individual armed forces of the Commonwealth member states is to be effected in accordance with plans agreed between them on the basis of mutual accounting and maintainance of existing production ties. Weapons and military equipment belonging to the Joint Armed Forces and to individual armed forces of the Commonwealth member states may not unilaterally be reassigned to a different command, redesignated or privatized when located outside the bounds of the states in repair enterprises.

Article 5

Movement of weapons, military equipment, and other material reserves supplied to troops on the territory of the Commonwealth member states is to be effected by mutual agreement without hindrance and without any levying of duties. At the same time, the Commonwealth member states will exercise the right to monitor [kontrol] any military freight being moved.

Article 6

Military missions at industrial enterprises sited on the territory of the Commonwealth member states and carrying out development [razrabotka], manufacture, assembly, and supply of weapons, military equipment, and other property for the Joint Armed Forces form part of the personnel of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces and come under the control [podkontrolnyy] of the authorized bodies of the Commonwealth member states. The activities of military missions and their financing are defined by the provision on military missions being ratified by the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth member states. Until the aforementioned provision is ratified, they are to be guided by the provision on military missions in force at the time the present agreement was signed. Military missions at industrial enterprises sited on the territory of Commonwealth states which have their own armed forces and which carry out development, production, assembly, and supply of weapons, military equipment, and property form part of the personnel of the armed forces of the state on the territory of which these enterprises and organizations are sited. Guarantees on the quality of the output produced by the enterprises are established by the contract obligations of the parties. When contracts are concluded, provision may be made for a representative of the customer at the manufacturing enterprise.

Article 7

The Commonwealth member states will be guided by the existing documents governing technical norms on standardization and unification relating to weapons and

military equipment. The procedure for carrying out work and the body of documents governing technical norms on standardization and unification of weapons and miliary equipment is regulated by a separate provision agreed between the Commonwealth member states.

Article 8

The principle on which the organization of the material, technical, and everyday provision of supplies to the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces is to be based is that the Commonwealth member states should allocate material resource funds of a size and designation to be ratified by the Council of Heads of Government; in the case of the individual armed forces of Commonwealth states, this should be on a contract basis.

Article 9

Regarding the organization of material, technical, and everyday provision of supplies to the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, the point of departure should be the currently effective norms for supply, stockpiling, and forming into echelons of reserves of weapons, military equipment, and other material reserves (for the individual armed forces of Commonwealth member states—in accordance with their own normative documents). The procedure for stockpiling, the volumes and the sites for warehousing material reserves for the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces are set by the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth member states, at the suggestion of the commander in chief of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces.

Article 10

The Commonwealth member states will envisage measures to insure priority supplies to the Commonwealth Armed Forces of material resources, including consumer goods, through the state supply system on the basis of contracts [kontrakt] (treaties) [dogovor], concluded to take account of measures to provide economic incentives to suppliers; and will also envisage measures to provide communal facilities and amenities for servicemen. [sentence as received]

Article 11

Scientific research and experimental design work done in the interests of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces is to be carried out on the basis of a unified program of development of weapons and military equipment, and on the basis of contracts with the appropriate industrial enterprises and scientific research establishments. There is to be continuous mutual exchange of scientific and technical information on the models of weaponry and military equipment undergoing development and exploitation. Scientific-technical and experimental design work being done in the interests of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces is to be financed on the basis of independent classes of expenditure in the single defense budget. Scientific-technical and experimental design work being done in the common interests of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces and of the individual armed forces of Commonwealth states is to be carried out on a contract basis.

Article 12

The agreement comes into force from the time it is signed. Concluded in the city of Kiev on 20 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is kept in the Belarus Government archive, which will provide the states signatory to the present agreement with an authorized copy.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by the representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. The representative of Moldova made the following note: "Moldova resolves the issues expounded in the present treaty only on a bilateral basis."

General Purpose Forces Agreement

LD2403151992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 23 Mar 92

["CIS Agreement on Status of General Purpose Forces," adopted by the CIS summit in Kiev on 20 March]

[Text] [no dateline as received] **Agreement**

On the status of general purpose forces of the Joint Armed Forces for the transitional period

The states participating in this agreement, further called the "member states", guided by the agreement between the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, and the Republic of Turkmenistan on general purpose forces for the transitional period from 14 February 1992, with regard for the role of the general purpose forces of the Joint Armed Forces (further—the general purpose forces) in insuring the security of the member states,

Confirming their adherence to the principles and norms of international law, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

For the purposes of this agreement, the following terms mean:

1. "General purpose forces"—troop formations and military installations, the composition of which is defined by Article 1 of the agreement between the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of Turkmenistan, and the Republic of Uzbekistan on general purpose forces for the transitional period from 14 February 1992. The lists of troop formations and installations which are to be included in the general purpose forces and their location are determined by each member

state by agreement with the command of the general purpose forces of the Joint Armed Forces and are confirmed by the heads of the member states.

Wording of the Republic of Armenia: "The lists of troop formations and installations to be included in the general purpose forces and their location are worked out by each member state, are agreed with the command of the general purpose forces of the Joint Armed Forces and are confirmed by the joint decision of the heads of member states".

2. "Host states"—member states on whose territory general purpose forces are stationed.

3. "Place of stationing (basing)"—territory assigned for use by the general purpose forces.

4. "Real estate of the general purpose forces"—military camps, airfields, railroad sidings, training grounds, test grounds, firing ranges, stationary control points and communications facilities, housing, and other buildings used by the general purpose forces.

5. "Movables of the general purpose forces"—all forms of weapons, ammunition, and military equipment, including the necessary means of transportation and other material-technical means used by the general purpose forces.

6. "Persons belonging to the general purpose forces"—servicemen and civilians serving or working in formations and at military installations of the general purpose forces.

7. "Members of the families of persons belonging to the general purpose forces"—spouses, children, and other relatives dependent on persons belonging to the general purpose forces.

Article 2

1. The general purpose forces are intended to insure the security of all member states.

2. Each member state expresses its agreement to the stationing and the functioning of troop formations and installations of the general purpose forces at the places of stationing (basing) where they were located and functioning at the moment that this agreement was signed. Changes in their place of stationing are implemented by accord between the host states and the command of the general purpose forces.

3. The activities of troop formations and installations of the general purpose forces situated on the territory of a member state do not affect the sovereignty of that state.

4. The member states do not permit actions that hamper the fulfillment by the general purpose forces of their functions, provided these are not contrary to the legislation of a sovereign state.

5. This agreement extends to troop formations and military installations assigned to and operationally subordinate to the command of the general purpose forces.

Article 3

The general purpose forces are manned on the basis of the principles defined in a separate agreement.

Article 4

1. The leadership of the general purpose forces is provided by the commander of the general purpose forces, subordinate to the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

2. The command of the general purpose forces, together with the Ministries of Defense (defense committees) of the member states and by accord with the General Staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States:

participates in the drafting of operational plans for the use of groupings, formations, and units of the general purpose forces;

works out the outline and the plans for development of the general purpose forces, the weapons programs for the general purpose forces, and the organizational structures of the establishment;

organizes combat readiness and plans and implements operational and combat training and other measures to maintain the general purpose forces at the necessary level of combat readiness;

implements immediate combat control of groupings, formations and units of the general purpose forces;

places orders with scientific and industrial organizations of the member states, on the basis of contracts, for development and delivery to the general purpose forces of weapons and military equipment in accordance with established weapons programs, and finances the work being completed within the limits of the budget allocations assigned to these ends; and

implements measures for adherence to international treaties on conventional weapons.

Article 5

The legal position of persons belonging to the general purpose forces and members of their families is regulated by an agreement between the member states on the social and legal guarantees for servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families.

Article 6

Mutual relations between the general purpose forces and the state organs, enterprises, and organizations of the member states:

1. The military administration organs of the general purpose forces of the member states carry out their activities in cooperation with the state organs, enterprises, and organizations of the host states.

2. The general purpose forces conclude with enterprises and organizations of the member states contracts for carrying out work on creating, modernizing, and eliminating types of armament and military hardware and on other issues insuring the activity of the general purpose forces. The participant states assist with the conclusion of such contracts.

3. The movement of formations and units of the general purpose forces, exercises, maneuvers, and other measures for the operational and combat training of the general purpose forces outside their places of permanent stationing (basing) are carried out in accordance with plans agreed with a body authorized by the government of the member state on whose territory it is planned to conduct these measures, or with the consent in each case of this government or of a body authorized by it.

The member states grant military units and facilities of the general purpose forces the necessary means of transportation on a remunerative basis, and the possibility of moving by land, air, and sea for movement in accordance with the said plans.

4. The construction in the places of stationing of the general purpose forces of new roads, bridges, buildings, and permanent radio and radio-technical installations along with the setting of their frequencies and capacities, and also the construction of other facilities is carried out with the consent of the competent bodies of the member state, on whose territory it is anticipated to build the new facilities.

5. In vacating plots of land being used by the general purpose forces, they are returned to the host state. The question of the real estate facilities built thereon is resolved in accordance with the legislation of the host state.

Article 7

1. The member states participate on a shared basis in financing the general purpose forces, with the exception of those member states which have their own armed forces operationally subordinate to the high command of the Joint Armed Forces. The volume of expenditure on the said purposes and the financing procedure is determined by separate agreement.

2. The procedure for the material and technical provision of the general purpose forces and for calculations in the currency of the host state is determined by the heads of government of the member states.

Article 8

1. The host states preserve in the possession of the general purpose forces that property which they held at the moment of signing this agreement, and also provide them with electrical power, communal and other services. The procedure and conditions for the use by the general purpose forces of the plots of land allocated to them, and also the provision to the general purpose forces of various kinds of services are determined in accordance with the legislation of the host states.

2. The moveable property of the general purpose forces is owned and used by them. The procedure for managing it is determined by the authoritative bodies of the member states.

The member states undertake not to hinder the relocation of the moveable property of the general purpose forces, carried out for the purpose of insuring combat readiness, and also in the interests of fulfilling international treaties. At the same time, the member states of the Commonwealth exercise the right to supervise the moveable property being relocated.

3. The road transportation [vehicles] of the general purpose forces military units have registration numbers and distinctive markings. Unified registration numbers and markings are set by the High Command of the Joint Armed Forces.

Article 9

In matters relating to crimes and offenses committed by persons belonging to the general purpose forces, or by the members of their families, the legislation in force on the territory of the member state where the crimes or offenses are committed is applicable.

Article 10

Each member state, by way of exercising its sovereignty, has the right to withdraw from this agreement. A member state intending to withdraw from the agreement notifies in writing the depository state and all the other member states of its decision to act in such a manner. Such notification is given at least one year prior to the anticipated withdrawal from this agreement.

Article 11

1. This agreement is open for signing by the member states of the CIS and will enter into force from the day of receipt by the depository of the third notification of fulfillment by the signatory states of the constitutional procedures essential for its entry into force.

For states carrying out the aforementioned procedures at a later date, the present agreement comes into force on the day the corresponding notifications are received by the depositary.

Concluded in the city of Kiev on 20 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is kept in the Belarus Government archive, which will dispatch to the states signatory to the agreement an authorized copy.

The position of the Republic of Uzkbekistan: It is not participating in the present agreement.

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The agreement was signed by representatives of Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation.

Results of 20 Mar CIS Summit Assessed

Marks Ukraine's 'Departure'

MK2403130992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 pp 1-2

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "CIS?" rubric: "The Commonwealth Is a Dream. An Almost Unrealizable One After the Kiev Meeting"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk have probably never appeared before an audience of international journalists in such an irritated state as after the Kiev meeting. The Russian president has always displayed his emotions rather sharply, but the Ukrainian president is known more for ostentatious caution than for irritability. So what happened?

The cause of the quarrel is evident. Ukraine raised the issue of dividing up former Union property, was supported by the other CIS members, but did not receive Russian consent to examine this question. President Yeltsin gave an entirely logical answer, defending the interests of Russia, which in no way wished to abandon anything; this was acknowledged even by President Kravchuk, who promised, however, to be just as logical in defense of Ukrainian interests. Russia has won as a state, but lost out as the "patron" of the Commonwealth, at least in its present form, when all the other CIS members are revolving around Moscow either through inertia or as a result of economic realities. Ukraine has lost out as claimant to the position of Commonwealth pacemaker, but Kiev thinks it has won as a state.

On the whole the prevailing impression is that the Ukrainian leadership put forward the problem of property not so much because it intended to resolve it, but because it was striving once more to prove the ineffectiveness of the CIS both to itself and to others. Even Leonid Kravchuk's opening address was devoted to this topic, and eventually the Ukrainian president altogether lifted the Commonwealth out of political reality and into the realm of daydreams by calling it a "dream." Just before the Kiev meeting, one member of the Ukrainian delegation at the talks, the poet Dmitro Pavlychko, chairman of the parliamentary commission for international affairs, published in the newspaper LITERATURNA UKRAYINA a poem entitled "Festival" which claimed that the day was not far off when "we shall stop sitting in a Moscow guard detail" and "with our own invincible weapons we shall walk out of the CIS as from an old prison." As he walked past the assembled journalists at the press conference, Pavlychko tossed them the following remark: "I am happy. We are approaching the end." And a prestigious Ukrainian television commentator described the events in Kiev as an irrevocable affirmation of Ukraine's course toward genuine state independence.

As far as the Russian administration is concerned, however, it is seemingly closer to the idea of a new Union without Gorbachev than to an amorphous Commonwealth where any partner can limit a Yeltsin initiative at will—not just in Commonwealth domestic politics, moreover, but also in international affairs, as has already been the case with proposals on nuclear disarmament. It is no accident that Boris Yeltsin reminded representatives from the other republics at this meeting that it was they (and not Russia—V.P.) who quit the Soviet Union. The departure of Ukraine at first sight guarantees Russia a trouble-free chairmanship of the CIS. Especially as Nursultan Nazarbayev is pursuing a course of close rapprochement with Russia, meeting with Yeltsin immediately after the Kiev talks. But Nazarbayev has always been most vigorous in his support of just one politician—Nazarbayev. And with the departure of Ukraine yet another center of gravity is forming that could be particularly attractive for small countries.

'Urgent Questions Unresolved'

PM2403111792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Zelentsov: "Summit Kiev-Style"]

[Text] It looks as though the Commonwealth is alive only because from one meeting of the CIS countries' leaders to the next the solution of the most delicate and controversial issues is constantly postponed. And the Kiev summit, which seemed at first to have been successful, has upon checking left many urgent questions unresolved. Judge for yourselves.

A whole block of eight documents on the armed forces was signed in Kiev. I think that the basic one is the agreement on the legal foundations of the CIS Joint Armed Forces' activity. It would seem that the outlines of the CIS defense structures have begun to emerge and acquired legal shape. At the same time one of the most important questions—what should each state's contribution be to the maintenance of the joint armed forces?—remained unanswered. Again the sides were unable to agree on which units should be categorized as strategic forces. So that 68-year-old Army General Yuriy Maksimov, appointed commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Strategic Forces, will in the immediate future find it hard to decide who is subordinate to him.

It is hard today for many military men. But it is hardest of all for them to answer the question: Who do they serve now?

Nor did the Kiev meeting introduce anything new to the situation which has taken shape with regard to the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of the nuclear republics of the former Union. Yet Leonid Kravchuk confirmed: "Ukraine has suspended the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons indefinitely."

Nor did Ukraine take part in the discussion of the question of the status of the CIS Joint Armed Forces general purpose forces for the transitional period.

Obviously, the process of the army's division along national lines is irreversible now. A recent example: Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has signed a decree on the transfer to the republic's jurisdiction of the military units on its territory. To all appearances this document lays the foundation for creating Moldova's armed forces.

Now Russia also has the prospect of creating its own army. To the question what can be expected from this, Boris Yeltsin, acting Russian Federation defense minister, replied: "The beginning of a good process." Let us hope so. So far the future Russian army has been swelled by a collective of many thousands: President Yeltsin has issued a decree on the transfer of the Baltic Border District border troops to the Russian Federation's jurisdiction.

The next meeting of the CIS States' heads will take place in Tashkent. The fourth such meeting, it has already been promoted by some military experts to the rank of a decisive meeting.

Yeltsin, Kravchuk Differ

PM2403150792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 1

[Colonel A. Polyakov report: "Kravchuk Called CIS a Dream, Yeltsin Urged People To Fight for This Dream"]

[Excerpts] The conference of CIS heads of state ended 20 March in Kiev; Georgia attended the meeting as an observer. Uzbek President Islam Karimov, who chaired the final news conference, said that the conference discussed 17 questions. Three packages of documents have been sent off for finalization. The most trenchant discussion concerned the rightful succession to the former USSR's property, state debts, and assets, and also the block of military questions. Whereas military questions were ultimately discussed and decisions adopted on them, this kind of unanimity was not reached on other problems. [passage omitted]

Journalists sensed at the press conference that relations between Russia and Ukraine will hardly improve after this meeting. Yeltsin only had to note that Ukraine's position was constructive for Kravchuk to make a rejoinder. He assumed, in particular, that Boris Nikolayevich was evidently speaking ironically since Ukraine took no part in discussing military matters...

During the conference the question of the rightful succession to the former Union's property was taken off the agenda at Yeltsin's suggestion since it comprises various areas, each needing detailed study. Kravchuk had his own viewpoint on this. Apparently he now knows precisely that an agreement will not be signed at all. And if Russia pursues its own interests, Ukraine will act as circumstances dictate and as it sees best. Then, the Ukrainian president stressed, we will make no concessions.

Everything indicates that Ukraine has firmly taken up its own special position. This is no coincidence. Suggestions are being voiced with increasing frequency in Kiev that it leave the CIS and make a "civilized" break with Russia. When asked what the Commonwealth constitutes and whether the spirit of the relations within it accords with this name, Leonid Kravchuk was brief: The Commonwealth is a dream. While Boris Yeltsin parried: If the Commonwealth is a dream, it is necessary to fight for it rather than reject it at a stroke. Stanislav Shushkevich's viewpoint on this is also interesting: "The CIS is more of a Commonwealth than the former USSR was a Union."

Perhaps most interesting is the reaction from the people of Kiev to the conference. It is multifaceted. I must point out that there were plenty of people, even among the Ukrainian delegation, in favor of severing relations with the CIS and with Russia. The rally organized by Rukh said the same thing, but even more scathingly. Most Kiev residents seemed preoccupied with totally different problems...

Leaves 'Bitter' Impression

PM2403142192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Albert Plutnik article: "CIS Between 'Dream' and 'Necessity'"]

[Text] The Kiev summit of the heads of the CIS states reached agreement on all 17 issues under discussion. Nonetheless, if we are going to call a spade a spade, this summit—like its predecessors in Minsk and Moscow—leaves behind a bitter rather than a happy impression.

As Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk stated at the final press conference, the Commonwealth has still not found a mechanism for solving urgent problems. Once again, probably the main question was not settled. You can also take into account other more diplomatic assertions by the CIS heads of state who, assessing the results of the Kiev talks, are drawing the public's attention to its positive points and individual agreements. But these points can hardly outweigh the fact obvious to all—the still irreconcilable confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, which, given the additional differences which came to light in the Ukrainian capital, is deteriorating rather than being smoothed over. Routine agreements can hardly be considered an achievement if nobody has any confidence that they will be carried out.

It is good that the Commonwealth in the form in which it exists is capable not only of getting leaders around the negotiating table, but also of making those negotiations result in important agreements. But the ultimate aim of interstate agreements should not be the agreements themselves. The ultimate aim should be the real action

which will follow them, and the real changes in the lives of the people whom politicians represent. Yet it has become standard practice for the decisions discussed and adopted by the CIS not to be implemented. On 22 March's "Politics" program (from the Ostankino TV Company) Leonid Kravchuk directly stated, with this fact in mind, that the Commonwealth is not yet producing real results. He permitted himself a generalization which is hard to disagree with: In connection with the beginning of so-called restructuring lately, not a single document adopted by the former president or former Union (now Commonwealth) organs of power has been carried out. Hence the logical conclusion that if order is not restored in this area, then nothing will come of our venture. "Our venture" means the CIS. That would be right, except that Ukraine's actual role in strengthening the Commonwealth cannot be called constructive.

One way or another, summing up the results of the Kiev summit today, we must be happy that it was not the last in the CIS' brief history. That is a relatively small consolation, but, nonetheless, if the leaders of the former union republics—now sovereign states—continue to meet at summit level, there is still hope that the Commonwealth itself, whether it stays in its present form or undergoes a change, will finally acquire stability on a firm economic foundation and on the basis of mutual interstate interests. And that it will cease to look like a kind of public arena where individual politicians in full view of the entire world trumpet their absolute independence, understanding this to mean approximately what was previously meant by communism—a kind of era of general prosperity which nobody knew how to achieve.

Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan stated on his return home: "The CIS is the only system which currently guarantees Armenia's security and economic development." Are those words applicable solely to Armenia?

In a world where a balance has already been found between interstate economic interests, it is impossible to find a place in the sun for yourself by counting solely on the help of new friends and comrades.

If the politicians get it wrong, the peoples will have to pay.

Summit 'Pretty Successful'

PM2403165192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by Viktor Litovkin in Moscow on 23 March: "Commander in Chief Satisfied With Work Done With Presidents"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA (No 70) has already reported, our military observer had an interview with Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, in which he talked about the results of the CIS presidents' meeting in Kiev. We are publishing this interview on 25 March.

"Despite the forecasts, the Kiev meeting was pretty successful," Marshal Shaposhnikov said.

"We addressed the military questions quickly and efficiently, without protracted debate or exhausting argument. Maybe this was because we had made thorough preparations: We met twice here in Moscow, and three weeks before the conference we found we had an opportunity to go through these documents in Kiev immediately before the meeting. It also turned out the presidents were better prepared and the documents had been worked out in greater detail.

"We adopted an agreement on the top CIS bodies' powers in terms of defense questions, which defined the powers of the Council of Heads of State, the Council of Heads of Government, and the High Command—that is, we enacted these powers. We adopted an agreement on the Joint Armed Forces High Command and—in a separate document—the regulations governing it, and an agreement on the legal bases of the Joint Armed Forces' activity, manning principles, and the principles governing military service.

"All the fundamental factors figure here because currently we have come up against difficulties in manning the Army through the spring draft. We have not yet determined quotas—who will man the Joint Armed Forces Strategic Forces and other troops. That is for separate discussion.

"We also adopted one other agreement—on the principles governing the provision of arms, military equipment, and other material resources for the Commonwealth armed forces and the organization of scientific research and experimental design work.

"Let me clearly state that Ukraine did not sign any of these agreements, except the last one. It set a course of going its own way and acting independently to the greatest possible extent. For my part I am not pleased by everything here.

"I understand and accept each state's right to create its own armed forces, but they must not be divided up in an utterly barbaric manner."

[Litovkin] Which documents caused the greatest differences and did not get signed at all?

[Shaposhnikov] The agreement on the procedure for determining where Joint Armed Forces property and real estate should be located. A draft was submitted for discussion in both Moscow and Kiev. But when we were left alone with the Ukrainian delegation and started discussing strategic forces and the Black Sea Fleet, we realized we were not going to reach agreement with them. The issue became deadlocked.

When this agreement was being discussed by the Council of Heads of State, I said we at the military level were unable to agree and proposed that the level of negotiation on these questions be raised—to head of government level with military experts participating. I think governments would reach agreement more quickly, especially because Russia has created its own Ministry of Defense—a step I welcome

[Litovkin] What is your personal view of these matters?

[Shaposhnikov] I consider the Black Sea Fleet the property of the CIS, not of any one state. I cannot agree with the parameters used by Ukraine for dividing it up, whereby most of the fleet has to belong to it.

Incidentally, the Black Sea Fleet received a letter from Ukrainian Defense Minister Morozov accusing us of being more concerned about "ironsides" than people. But that is not true. Every since I started in this job, people's fates, how they feel, and their social well-being have been the most important factors and remain so. We are doing everything to ensure they do not suffer; but everything is being turned on its head here.

How is it possible to go to the extent of summoning a retired officer to a military commissariat and demanding he swear loyalty to Ukraine or he will not receive a pension?! That is really humiliating people. This is manifestly going too far.

[Litovkin] And what kind of decision was adopted on strategic forces?

[Shaposhnikov] Unfortunately it was the same story. At the very beginning of the creation of the CIS we determined these forces would include the Strategic Missile Forces, the Navy, the Air Force, military transport aviation, the Airborne Landing Troops, Air Defense units, space units, and units providing them with logistical support.... Then, on the insistence of President Kravchuk, it was prescribed that the list of these forces would be determined by the host state by agreement with the main command.

It developed that we have one list and Ukraine has another, and they do not match. This is why I say: Let's raise the level of negotiations, let the governments decide what is what.

[Litovkin] Can it be hoped that the Kiev meeting will put an end to the bloodshed in the Dnestr region and Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Shaposhnikov] We adopted an agreement on the creation of a group of military observers and collective forces to keep the peace in the CIS. Admittedly not all the state leaders signed it. Incidentally, this agreement also includes the following point. It says that only if states where conflicts are on-going ask the CIS to send such forces there will this be done. As the United Nations stipulates.

[Litovkin] UN documents demand at least a cease-fire between the warring parties.

[Shaposhnikov] We adopted precisely those kinds of documents. I believe the time has come to create forces of this kind and a contingent of this type for "trouble spots," but on a voluntary, contract basis. The men must be paid just as well as is done by the United Nations.

[Litovkin] Could the High Command Command allocate a certain number of troops for this purpose?

[Shaposhnikov] No. I do not want the High Command involved. These must be Council of Heads of State troops; all we can do is give them all-around assistance: arming them, training them.... But they must have a separate command outside the framework of the Joint Armed Forces.

Black Sea Fleet Proposal Ignored

LD2403204392 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 23 Mar 92

["Address by Ukrainian Defense Minister General Kostyantyn Morozov to Black Sea Fleet sailors"—read by announcer]

[Text] The Ukrainian delegation submitted to the 20 March meeting of the leaders of the CIS states a draft agreement on transfer of part of the Black Sea Fleet to the CIS strategic forces, but the draft was not taken up by the representatives of the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and was not included on the agenda. Such an approach to the problems of the Fleet gives grounds for making people certain that the top command is interested only in ships, machines, weapons, and material resources, and the interests of the personnel and the people residing in the region are not being taken into consideration.

Ukraine does not claim all of the Black Sea Fleet. It proceeds from the principle of respecting the rights of other states on whose territory the groupings and units of the fleet are located. All the military formations deployed in Ukraine fall under Ukraine's jurisdiction according to the Supreme Soviet resolution of 24 August 1991. The administrative subordination of the Fleet to the Defense Ministry of Ukraine will make it possible to legally implement the clauses of the law of Ukraine on social and legal protection for servicemen and members of their families in relation to the Black Sea sailors.

General Cited on Ukraine

LD2403231692 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Many people are surprised that Ukraine did not take part in the signing of documents connected with the Joint Armed Forces [at the CIS meeting in Kiev on 20 March]. Our correspondent sought an explanation from a specialist, Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, a doctor of military sciences.

[Begin Lobov recording] I take an attitude of great sympathy and great regret over what happened at the meeting in Kiev. It has again turned out that a large group of troops on the territory of Ukraine, primarily officers, warrant officers and soldiers, and members of their families, have effectively again found themselves in limbo. This naturally gives rise both to alarm and bewilderment, the more so as our economic relations with Ukraine are also becoming strained. Our affairs are still normal in other areas, including in the field of culture, but now this military question has been left hanging for a long time, and this could, of course, lead to unpredictable events, and will only have the effect of exacerbating the situation.

It is a pity that it happened like this. But I do not think there is no way out, of course. We now need to prepare the next meeting well, we need to create a certain public opinion, and embark on the unification of the armed forces, that is, Ukraine has to see that without joint armed forces there will simply be no unity of defense as such. I think that this is the way out in the long term, and we have to proceed to this way out. [end recording]

Military

Marshal Shaposhnikov Discusses Military Issues

LD2303174692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1529 GMT 23 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vadam Birkin and Andrey Naryshnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 March (TASS)—Nine of the 10 draft agreements tabled by the Council of CIS Defense Ministers for consideration on 20 March at the meeting of CIS heads of state in Kiev were signed, though not by all parties. The legal shaping of the Commonwealth Armed Forces was completed. According to Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, speaking at a news conference in Moscow today, these were the main "military results" of the meeting.

Answering questions from ITAR-TASS correspondents, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that the Ukrainian delegation actually signed only one of the nine documents in the "military package" - the one on principles of material and technical support for the CIS Joint Armed Forces and on technical and design work. He also said that the proposals concerning the establishment of armed forces for Russia are likely to be prepared within a month by the national Ministry of Defense which has been created under a decree from President Boris Yeltsin.

The high command is holding talks with the government of Moldova on sharing out the units of the 14th Army, Shaposhnikov announced. Those stationed on the left side of the Dnestr are to be part of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, while some of those in the right-bank zone may be handed over to Moldova.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov specified that the CIS contingent of peacekeeping forces to be set up under an agreement reached in Kiev on 20 March will be under the control of the Council of Heads of State. These forces will be brought into areas of interethnic conflict, with the consent of the interested parties, for the purpose of ensuring the conditions needed for a political settlement of contentious issues. The contingent will, it would appear, be made up of contracted volunteers carrying light arms.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov ruled out the possibility of any military intervention by Turkey and other states of the region in the Karabakh conflict, stressing at the same time that he understands their interest in events taking place in direct proximity to their frontiers.

In the short term the CIS Joint Armed Forces are likely to exist in their present form, though in the longer term they could be transformed into a military organization along the lines of the Warsaw Pact or NATO, the commander in chief believes. Commenting on the incident last Friday when aircraft from the CIS strategic forces were the subject of an identification check by USAF aircraft over neutral waters in the area of the Aleutian Islands, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that such actions on the part of the Americans are fully in accord with existing practice and "it is not at all a matter of interception."

Russia To Finance Black Sea Fleet

LD2403001192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It was revealed today that Russia is virtually alone in bearing the financial burdens for the upkeep of our army, which is the most powerful in the world, and, comparatively speaking, probably the most expensive for the taxpayer.

Russia allocated 50 billion rubles [R] for the upkeep of the CIS Army in the first quarter of this year, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov told today's news conference. The commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces also reported that previously two states—Russia and Ukraine—had financed the armed forces. As Kiev has stated that it will create its own army, however, it has ceased to provide finance for the CIS Armed Forces.

The R250 million allocated by Russia to finance the Black Sea Fleet were frozen by Ukraine. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated that Russia will now finance the Black Sea Fleet, without relying on the services of the Ukrainian State Bank.

Replying to a correspondent's question about the military units stationed in Moldova, Yevgeniy Shaposhnkov replied: All the armed forces of the 14th Army which are situated on the left bank of the Dnestr will join the CIS

Joint Armed Forces; the others, apart from those needed for strategic purposes, will be handed over to Moldova's command.

One other thing: Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that within a month the Russian Defense Ministry will present Boris Yeltsin with a draft for the creation of the Russian Armed Forces.

Need Agreement With Ukraine

MK2403132592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report under the "Army" rubric: "'We Must Reach Agreement With Ukraine Nonetheless,' Commander in Chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov Believes"]

[Text] "I think the Kiev meeting has been a success. After all, nine military agreements were signed there. Although not everyone signed, there were on the other hand no sharp debates. Moreover, I have come to understand Ukraine's position on military issues—this too is a success," Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of CIS Joint Armed Forces, said at a briefing. The essence of his hour-long talk with journalists boiled down to the following: In Kiev those who wanted to agree on something signed the agreement without engaging in discussions with those who were known to oppose agreement. And this was good—there was less fuss.

However, the commander in chief, although contrasting the "constructive" Karimov with the "argumentative" Kravchuk, was forced to admit that it will nevertheless be necessary to come to an agreement with Ukraine. For the time being this has not proved possible, and Colonel General Semenov, who was approved in Kiev as commander of CIS Strategic Forces, remains in effect without portfolio—the presidents have so far been unable to define the composition of these forces. Despite all the coordination, Russia and Ukraine submitted different lists of strategic forces in Kiev. Now, according to Shaposhnikov, "talks will be held not by military experts but by heads of state with the participation of military experts. And in view of Ukrainian policy it should be noted that the further we progress along this road, the more reefs there will be."

The marshal described Russia's actions in bringing groups of forces in various parts of the former USSR within its jurisdiction as entirely legitimate: "Russia is maintaining the army everywhere except in Ukraine and Moldova. And he who pays the piper calls the tune, as they say." It seems that great Rus intends to following the same course in dividing up the nonnuclear weapons inherited from the USSR. Having said that Russia needs to trade weapons and make a profit from doing so, Shaposhnikov stressed that the other republics should keep as many weapons as they require for their own needs. "The several million firearms currently in Ukraine were intended not just for the military districts located there but for the mobilization reserve as well. If they are not now to be divided up between CIS members, they could be sold abroad."

With regard to the unclear relations between Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov and President-cum-Defense Minister Yeltsin (who is whose boss?), this question had also troubled the marshal, but the Russian leader had reassured him. According to Yevgeniy Ivanovich, Boris Nikolayevich had promised him that "just as there were no problems in the past, so there will be none in future," and Yeltsin will send his deputy to Shaposhnikov's Council of Defense Ministers.

CIS Navy Commander Criticizes Ukraine

LD2403202292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1444 GMT 24 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—On March 23 the CIS Navy Commander, Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, issued an address to the personnel, workers and employees of the Black Sea Fleet.

The address says: The situation around the Black Sea Fleet has sharply deteriorated lately. The hopes placed on the meeting of CIS heads of states and governments in Kiev on March 20 have not been realized. The decision concerning the fate of the Black Sea Fleet [was] postponed indefinitely. All this causes worry and anxiety of the navy command and uncertainty of the fleet's personnel. On December 30, 1991 at the first meeting of heads of state and governments of the CIS, a principal agreement [words indistinct] a strategic force [words indistinct] on the basis of this the navy command developed a number of constructive proposals related to the formation of the Ukrainian Navy. However, the leaders of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense ignored the agreements reached in Minsk and our proposals forgetting that the Black Sea Fleet defended a most important strategical direction and was meant to protect the common interests of the CIS including Ukraine's ones. They developed their own version of the Black Sea Fleet component to form a part of the CIS strategic forces including 9 percent of the total fleet's composition, 22 percent of ships and 17 percent of the nuclear weapons carriers, i.e., 91 percent of the fleet's forces were to be transferred to the Ukrainian Navy which was virtually equal to the death of the Black Sea Fleet. The Ukraine's Ministry of Defense has been intentionally distorting historical facts. By cunning and by flirting, by making different offers and spreading ungrounded promises, by threatening and using the threat of discrimination they are trying to instill with the personnel who once had taken in oath to serve their motherland the thought which is equal to betrayal of their military oath and make them to take a different oath. At the same time the mass media publishes allegations of individual officials and nationalist movements containing elements of deceit, lies, blackmail and misrepresentation. A virtual

opposition to the reasonable proposals of the Navy and the fleet command is being created, and a factor of de-stabilization is introduced which influences the national military personnel. Our position is as follows:

1. The Black Sea Fleet belongs to all the states of the Commonwealth and is subordinated only to the navy command as a component of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

2. We are ready to render assistance to Ukraine in establishment of its own navy and allocate for this purpose 20-22 percent of the Black Sea forces.

3. The navy command presumes that the statement of the Ukrainian party concerning providing solution to all the socio-economic and ecological problems related to the Black Sea Fleet are ungrounded and are not sufficiently justified.

If we come to the question of material well-being of people then the CIS as a whole has much more opportunities in this respect than a single individual state.

I hope that the Black Sea Fleet personnel is well-aware of the importance of their fleet and support the navy command position in this respect and in the present situation all military personnel, workers and employees as well as members of their families would remain steadfast, patient, wise and reasonable.

I am certain that under such difficult conditions the Black Sea Fleet's personnel would remain true to their military oath, traditions of the naval brotherhood, naval friendship and camaraderie, and would make all possible efforts in order to preserve the unity of the fleet and strengthen its glorious combat and heroic traditions in the name of the people and motherland.

Commonwealth

Gorbachev Likens CIS to 'Insane Asylum'

LD2403101692 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—In an interiew with THE WASHINGTON POST, published here today, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said his worst fears about the disintegration of the Soviet Union were coming true and likened the atmosphere in the country to "an insane asylum", REUTER reports today.

Gorbachev criticised Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush, the agency says.

"I have turned out to be too much of a prophet, one whose prophecies have become to come true within a few weeks. The country is being torn apart, economic ties are being broken," REUTER quotes Gorbachev as saying.

"They are even talking about dividing up the contents of the Hermitage and the Tretyakov, Russia's famed museums," Gorbachev continued.

"This is sheer madeness. It reminds me of the atmosphere in an insane asylum. After all, politicians can be crazy, but society cannot be crazy," the ex-president said.

"I do not intend to leave the political stage" he continued, suggesting he still had a role to play in politics.

According to REUTER, Gorbachev said Yeltsin has put the cart before the horse in liberalising prices while much of the economy remains under state monopoly.

He was critical of Bush and the U.S. assertion that the collapse of the Soviet Union meant it was a one-superpower world. He insists that both countries have effectively lost the cold war because of a ruinous arms race.

"We have already left the bipolar world, to say nothing of the unipolar world, and then somebody has this crazy idea that maybe they can lead the world again," REUTER quotes Gorbachev as saying.

Warns of 'Territorial Questions'

LD2503103492 Hamburg DPA in German 0848 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Munich (DPA)—In the break-up of the former Soviet Union, ex-President Mikhail Gorbachev feels he was betrayed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. In his column for the most recent edition of the Munich magazine BUNTE, he writes that he cannot avoid reproaching Yeltsin for having changed his mind too quickly in the reorganization of the country. "After all, we had prepared the Union treaty together after the August coup. However, what then followed was a plot. Behind my back Yeltsin signed the treaty on the end of the USSR."

Gorbachev called upon the countries of the CIS to hold the country together and to find a new and better form of cooperation. At present everything was pointing to the ties between the republics being destroyed. "I can only warn," wrote Gorbachev, "if the economic area is further pulled apart and the unity of the army is finally destroyed, then numerous territorial questions will crop up, then there will be dramatic conflicts between the nations, like in Nagorno-Karabakh." Russia must be especially careful not to be suspected of any imperialistic ambitions. Russia and Ukraine are the main protagonists but they must meet the other republics half-way.

Baltics

Baltic, Russian Talks on Withdrawal Postponed

LD2403102392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The second visit by the Russian state delegation to the Baltic states on military and political issues planned for the end of March has been postponed. This was announced by Aleksandr Kotenkov, deputy head of the

state law department. According to him, Estonia has failed to form a state delegation for the negotiations with Russia. The visit could not take place until the Russian congress of the people's deputies in April.

According to Kotenkov, it will be necessary to pull out more than 40,000 officers and warrant officers with their families from all three Baltic states, mostly from Latvia—over 20,000 and approximately 11,000-12,000 each from Lithuania and Estonia. The Baltic leaders demand that the entire army is withdrawn by the autumn of this year was absolutely unworkable, he said.

Baltic Prime Ministers To Meet 26 Mar

LD2403185192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] A meeting between Tiit Vahi, Ivars Godmanis, and Gediminas Vagnorius, the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian prime ministers, will take place in Tallinn on Thursday [26 March]. The Lithuanian and Latvian prime ministers will arrive in Tallinn on Wednesday evening. Principles of economic cooperation and exchange of information between Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in this sphere will be under discussion, as well as the coordination of the Baltic states' trade with ex-USSR republics and mutual trade cooperation, including border, customs, and mutual accounting issues. According to Tiit Vahi, the Baltic prime ministers should meet at least once a month in the present difficult economic situation.

Media

Paper Launches Resubscription Campaign

PM2503094692 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 1

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office article: "Slogan of the Day: KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Allows Only Its Readers To Buy the Newspaper"]

[Text] This issue of the newspaper was published with a print run of 13,414,000 copies: That is how many subscribers we have in Russia and the republics of the former USSR. From 1 June this number will obviously change. For the first time in its history KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is beginning an extraordinary subscription campaign—for the current year, 1992. However much we have tried to postpone this day, no other recourse is available to us. According to the accounts presented to the editors, the money received for the 1992 subscriptions is running out. There remains enough for only a few issues, and when the last kopek runs out, the printing house will be forced to cease publication of the newspaper altogether. This is the reality. Such are the market prices of paper, lethal for mass circulation newspapers. But the paper industry, so some of that sector's economists believe, will survive without newspapers.

It is indeed possible to survive without newspapers. They are not bread. Nevertheless, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is not interested in its own death, whether quiet or noisy. We suppose that the 50 million people, at a minimum, who make up our newspaper's audience, are not interested in this either. And for the majority this is the one newspaper which they can allow themselves today. There is this reality too.

The 1992 subscription campaign began in August last year and were based on the new paper prices that were guaranteed by the then government. Incidentally, even then, last summer, these new prices seemed to be so excessive that the circulation of the majority of publications decreased two- to threefold.

We know where Pavlov's government is now, and where prices are. Prices for paper, typographical services, and distribution services have increased 10-, 15-, and 20-fold. In order to fulfill its obligations to subscribers until the end of the year, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA requires at the very least a further 2 billion rubles [R]. The more popular the newspaper and the higher its subscription run, the deeper, it transpires, is the pit of debts it is in.

Today we are told: Editorial offices are themselves to blame for not setting a realistic price last summer. This is not a proper argument. First, real prices, as we know, are not set, they emerge in the market, but even today there can be no talk of a civilized market, let alone last summer. Moreover editorial offices do not have the possibility of changing the price of the publication from day to day in line with the general growth in prices: The existing system of subscription and distribution is not adapted to this.

Second, no one knows what a realistic price is even today. At least the leaders of the paper sector are unable to name a more or less exact price for paper in the immediate future.

To base our calculations on world paper prices means, given our far from world-standard salaries, starting from the premise that virtually all mass circulation publications will cease to exist. No newspaper that wishes to remain generally accessible would be able to sustain world prices. In this event the number of readers on the territory of the former USSR would be comparable with the number of owners of Volvos or country villas.

Do we expect help from the government in this situation? Yes and no. No, in the sense that we do not ask for a single kopek toward editorial costs—the preparation of material and staff wages. Yes, in the sense that the government has the ability to ease the consequences of the financial crisis **for readers**, for millions of citizens. Information starvation is another kind of starvation.

At the present time the question of compensation—to cover part of the paper and typographical costs—is being discussed in the Russian Government and Supreme Soviet. But it is already obvious that, even if the

Supreme Soviet ratifies the decision to allocate resources (and there are no guarantees here), the sums will be considerably smaller than what is required until the end of the year. And despite the decree on the protection of the mass media signed by B. Yeltsin, all the ultimatums with which we have been presented remain in force. And with the current price of R27 for a year's subscription to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, **every** issue makes a loss of several million rubles. And this is today—before the free oil prices, the next twist in the spiral of inflation, and so forth. It is clear that individually neither readers, nor editorial offices, nor the government can compensate for such losses.

In these conditions we are obliged to announce a rise in the subscription price of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and the start of a resubscription campaign from tomorrow.

In Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus (in Ukraine resubscription is already under way) the newspaper will, we hope, be delivered to all former subscribers until 1 June—absolutely all the funds submitted by subscribers last year will go toward this, and substantial government aid (as yet only promised) will be required. From 1 June those who can submit the resubscription money by 10 May will receive the paper every day. We would also like those subscribers who are unable to pay the necessary additional sum today to continue to receive KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, if only on Saturdays. This is where the government could help—in effect this would be one of the measures aimed at the social protection of disadvantaged strata of the population. But unfortunately, we can give no guarantees of this. At the moment these are phantom hopes, to say the least. Therefore the only reliable guarantee of receiving the newspaper every day until the end of the year remains resubscription.

In those republics where resubscription cannot be carried out today owing to circumstances beyond our control, we will try nonetheless to fulfill our obligations—we will try to bring the paper to old subscribers at the editorial office's expense. All the money earned in advertising in recent years will go toward this.

All this is a step that is forced on us, and is due to the state of our common purse. Nonetheless, it is an option enabling the paper to survive.

What do we pin our hopes on? That we have learned much, readers, you and we, in the course of this year, including how to earn a little more than before. Retail: KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA will continue to be delivered to kiosks; ask the stallholders for it. We hope for advertising revenue. We hope that independence and popularity are also a form of capital. We will do everything in our power to remain a mass circulation, accessible newspaper.

We are changing neither name, nor standpoint, nor—we would like to believe—readers.

[Unattributed postscript] **On the Question of Subscription Price**

As is not difficult to calculate, current subscribers paid an average of 9 kopeks per issue of the newspaper last fall. The "Pressa" publishing house has supplied us with a forecast for the costs of publishing KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in June-December 1992 (the editorial office has to settle with the publishers in advance). According to these estimates, the cost price per issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA will come to R1.58, which includes:

paper—57 kopeks
printing expenses—6 kopeks (expenses will increase if circulation falls)
distribution—57 kopeks
dispatch and delivery—14 kopeks
mail tariff—22 kopeks
all editorial expenses—1 kopek
Plus 6 kopeks for inflation over six months. Total for 25 four-page issues per month—R41.

TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Mar

LD2503092992 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—Moscow's newspapers today highlight economic reforms in Russia, the results of the referendum in Tatarstan and the hotbeds of tension throughout the Commonwealth.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, which deals with prospects of economic reform in Russia.

Gaydar spoke in favour of the price liberalisation of energy carriers as soon as possible. He said: "The present price structure, based on cheap energy, cannot exist any longer... The liberalisation of prices will reveal the inefficient enterprises, those which consume more than they produce. We want prices to reach 25 per cent of world prices, based on the current exchange rate of the rouble."

In Gaydar's opinion, this will not lead to a "catastrophic" rise in prices for the consumer goods.

He predicted a "structural crisis" in the near future, which would affect the industries that were "increased beyond all measure" during the past decades. These include heavy machine-building, arms manufacturing and construction.

"Boris Yeltsin is undoubtedly the most popular and the best respected Russian leader now, but in the spring of 1992 his popularity fell by 24 points in comparison with the results of the presidential elections in June 1991," ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA writes, commenting on the results of a sociological survey conducted by the centre of comparative social studies. "Most probably, this is the result of the current economic reforms, which are far from popular."

Quoting materials from the closed-door session of the Ukrainian parliament, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes: "There are numerous reasons to believe Ukraine may actually withdraw from the Commonwealth in the near future without a corresponding political statement or a protocol."

Reporting the situation in Moldova, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes "the pressure on the military in the Dnestr region is steadily growing", and it is more and more difficult for them to remain neutral in that conflict. In the opinion of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, clashes in the Dnestr region are becoming more and more fierce, because "people from both sides of the Dnestr River do not listen to each other ... Reasonable voices and effective proposals to settle the conflict are being muffled by mutual accusations and condemnations."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA analyses the results of the referendum in Tatarstan. It writes: "It is obvious that the Saturday referendum decided not only the future of Tatarstan, but also of Russia ... and the problem of power in Russia ... a compromise between Kazan and Moscow is possible, in principle. But this very compromise threatens to call into question the signing of the federal treaty, which is already being criticised by rather influential political forces in former Russian autonomous regions. There is no guarantee that the rest of the autonomous entities, as well as some Russian regions, will not follow the example of Tatarstan tomorrow.

"We are witnessing the second part of the 'Yeltsin versus Gorbachev' drama, which has lasted two years. Yeltsin now finds himself in the same position Gorbachev was in some time ago, and his former role is being played by Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev."

TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Mar

LD2403070592 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 24 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers continue to give broad coverage to the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state in Kiev on March 20. The press writes "the most keen debates unfolded around succession to the property, public debts and assets of the former Soviet Union as well as on the range of military issues. If military issues were ultimately discussed and decisions were made on them, no such unanimity was achieved on other issues."

"To all appearances, Ukraine has firmly adopted its own position. This is not by chance. In Kiev they speak increasingly frequently about seceding from the Commonweatlh of Indepedent States and breaking up with Russia 'in a civilised way'," the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out.

"One gets the impression that the Ukrainian leadership put forward the problem of property (sharing out the USSR's property) not so much intending to solve it but in the bid to prove to itself and others the inefficiency of the Commonwealth," the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA paper writes.

Newspapers single out remarks made by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk who said that "the Commonwealth is a dream". The Ukranian president has in actual fact moved the Commonwèalth out of the political reality into the area of dreams, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA observes in this regard. Following the Kiev meeting, this dream has become almost unrealisable, the newspaper sums up.

"Kravchuk described the Commonwealth as a dream and Yeltsin called for working to realise this dream," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

Commenting on the results of the Kiev summit, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, also noted the special stance assumed by Ukraine at the meeting. "The Ukrainian parliament has elaborated and adopted the enormous package of documents on its own armed forces and defined that they are not part of the Joint Armed Forces and are not subordinate to the chief command," Shaposhnikov said in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. This is the reason why Ukraine did not participate in the discussion of military issues.

Shaposhnikov believes the concept of the joint armed forces has become outdated but in future the Commonwealth unified Armed Forces can become the basis of the independent states' defence alliance.

"Tatarstan will not sign the Federative treaty with Russia under whatever circumstances," Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev said at a press conference, summing up the results of the referendum held in this autonomous republic on March 21.

"Ultimately, these results can be evaluated not so much as the victory of the republican sovereignty as the defeat of the Russian constitutional structure, which has revealed so many weak points in confrontation with Tatarstan," the trade union newspaper TRUD writes. "It is not ruled out that others will follow suit tomorrow."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA highlights the same point. "The Russian leadership, which is embroiled in internal feuds and engrossed in bolstering Russia's international status, does not yet have a clear- cut concept of the republic's internal structure, which takes into account the great ethnic diversity of the country," it writes.

Colonel-General Ivan Kalugin, commander of the long-distance aviation, told TRUD that Russian missile-carrier aircraft were intercepted by American fighters over neutral waters in the area of Alaska on March 20.

"Our combat aircraft took off from the airfield in the Amur region, where they are stationed. The crews scrupulously followed their route without straying off course by a single degree," Kalugin clarified. "There can be no talk here about

any violation of borders. Military pilots delivered to the base photos of this unexpected meeting."

"Soviet Germans do not have hopes for a national future in Russia," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA thinks. Commenting on the decisions adopted by the congress of Soviet Germans, which was held in Moscow recently, the newspaper reports the delegates of the congress demanded that the German and Russian Governments elaborate a programme that would make it easier for them to emigrate. They think Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree to set up a German national district (okrug) on the territory of the Volgograd region and a German national district in the Saratov region is an attempt to drag on the solution of the issue.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published excerpts from the note by the Russian Government's apparatus to President Yeltsin, which fell into the editorial board's possession. The note, which is titled "On Disintegration and Urgent Measures to Combat Separatism", says that the administrations of republics, territories and regions within Russia have sharply stepped up their pressure on the central government in recent months to gain the rights to regulate economic activity (foreign economic included), control state property and distribute material and money resources. The flow of such appeals increases week after week," the newspaper stresses.

"This turns the government apparatus into a mechanism for extending privileges to separate regions and entails the economic disintegration of the country. Privileges obtained for regions are used effectively by local authorities for personal gain," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA concludes.

TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Mar

LD2103141292 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] [Beginning of press review not received] The same newspaper publishes the text of the resolution of the Russian Federation parliament, which suggests that the Russian President "should take measures to fulfil the resolution of the Russian Federation constitutional court of March 13, 1992, which calls for checking on whether the holding of the referendum in Tatarstan on the state status of the republic of Tatarstan is consistent with the Constitution."

"Russia can climb out of the severe socio-economic crisis only if its unity and integrity as well as civil peace are maintained," this thought underlied speeches and meetings of Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov in the Omsk region. ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA features materials about his working visit to this part of Russian Federation.

Several representatives of political parties and movements have issued an appeal to political, creative, public and national organisations of the Russian Federation and the Russian business community.

Pointing to the deep crisis in all areas, they emphasise that "the implementation of sweeping transformations and the very existence of the Russian Federation in this moment are contingent on solving the issue of Russia's national-state structure, on shoring up the Russian statehood."

They think "the signing of the federative treaty, which delineates the powers between the subjects of the federation, and the adoption of a new Russian Constitution would help accomplish this task which is overriding today." The text of the appeal is carried by ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA.

"Economic reforms, which are being enacted with difficulty and painfully, are not an end in itself, as seems to many, but the indispensable means," Russian State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis believes.

"Moreover, they are a fraction of the overhauling processes which are currently under way in Russia and which the cabinet of reforms vigorously pursues." Burbulis expresses his view regarding the government's course of reforms in an article published in the trade union newspaper TRUD today.

Colonel A. Oliyinik, a special correspondent of the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, writes about the discovery in Afghanistan of graves of Soviet soldiers who were listed as missing.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an open letter by Valentin Pavlov, a defendant in the State Emergency Committee case, to the prosecutor-general of the USSR. In the letter, Pavlov contends that he wanted and was prepared to step down from his high post even prior to the August events. He describes his arrest as "unlawful."

Reports from the trouble spots—Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and the Dnestr region—dominate domestic news.

Newspapers report about the opening of the second congress of Russian Germans and feature other news from the Commonwealth member- states.

In sections dealing with international news, newspapers inform readers about developments in Yugoslavia, the Middle East, the Central and South American countries.

The press gives broad coverage to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Japan and Russian-Japanese talks in Tokyo.

TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Mar

LD1903202292 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] [Beginning of press review not received] The adoption of the constitution of the Russian Federation will be a key issue for the participants in the forthcoming Congress of the Russian People's Deputies, Deputy

Chairman of Russian parliament Sergey Filatov told ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. He said the practice of "mending" the existing constitution was erroneous and called the deputies to "concentrate on the problem of adoption of a new (Russian) constitution."

Reports from areas of tension remained in the focus of attention of the CIS newspapers. According to CIS Transcaucasian Armed Forces Commander in Chief General Colonel Valeriy Patrikeyev, time is pressing, but it is too early to withdraw troops from Transcaucasia as that will complicate the situation and lead to unpredictable consequences.

Commenting on the situation in Moldova, TRUD wrote that the opposing sides prefer to escalate tensions rather than to reach a compromise, and that aggravates the situation.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote that none of the opposing sides is capable of winning in the conflict between the Dnestr region and Moldova. In the meantime, Ukraine decided to alienate itself from the conflict by creating a buffer zone on the border with Moldova.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk criticised the Commonwealth of Independent States in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, saying the CIS is doing nothing while blood is being shed in the areas of tension. According to Kravchuk, the CIS leaders should discuss and adopt cardinal decisions on the cessation and prevention of conflicts on the CIS territory at their meeting scheduled for March 20 and afterwards.

TRUD wrote that each voter at the forthcoming referendum of independence in Tatarstan must bear it in mind he is taking a decision which will influence both his and his republic's fate.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Meets European Community Envoy

LD2503112292 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Gennadiy Talalalyev]

[Text] Moscow, March 25 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Deputy Chairman of the Commission of European Communities Frans Andriessen met in the Kremlin today for talks on preparations of a large-scale trade and economic agreement between Russia and the European Communities.

The sides reached an accord to set up working groups to ensure that the document be ready for signing before the end of May.

Telling journalists about the results of the meeting, the Russian Federation permanent envoy to the European Communities, Ivan Silayev, stressed that the new agreement did not aim to resuscitate the former agreement between the USSR and the European Communities but was a document new in principle, market-oriented in character.

During the meeting in Moscow, financial aid to Russia was also discussed. Andriessen confirmed that a 500 million ECU [European Currency Unit] credit will be issued to the Russian Federation with no strings attached. The Russian side expressed a desire for the European Communities to provide a more active and specific aid to Russia. According to Boris Yeltsin, Russia would be able to join European Communities in future, first as an associated and then as a full-fledged member.

Boris Yeltsin confirmed his invitation to CEC [European Community Commission] Chairman Jacques Delors to visit Russia. The visit is likely to take place at the end of May.

At Andriessen's request, the Russian president briefed him on the situation in the country ahead of the Congress of People's Deputies and noted that the government intended to carry on reforms despite attacks by the opposition.

Ivan Silayev, an ex-chairman of the Russian Government, said that in his opinion the present cabinet needs active support in continuing reforms.

Kozyrev Received by Finnish President, Minister

LD2303232992 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Upon his arrival in Helsinki for the session of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev was received by President Mauno Koivisto of Finland on Monday [23 March]. He also held talks with his Finnish counterpart, Paavo Vaeyrynen.

Attention was focused on preparations for a new European forum to make it a success. Bilateral ties were examined in the light of preparations for President Yeltsin's visit to Finland. The sides confirmed the absence of any political problems between their countries and reiterated the need to lead trade and the economic cooperation out of the crisis and perfect bilateral ties by putting them on a contractual and legal footing.

Addresses CSCE Meeting

LD2403170792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 24 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nikolay Vukolov and Aleksandr Surikov]

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 24 March (TASS)—The fourth meeting of representatives of CSCE member-states opened today in the Finnish capital. [passage omitted]

Andrey Kozyrev, Russia's minister of foreign affairs, spoke at the first plenary session. The leaders of the European states, the United States and Canada who gathered in Helsinki in 1975 could hardly have imagined where the decisions formally adopted by them would lead us all, he said.

The Helsinki process has promoted the immense changes which have occurred in Europe over the last few years. It has helped to overcome the artificial border drawn across the consciousness and the lives of Europeans and which divided them into West and East. It has been the catalyst for the revolutionary events in East Europe and our country. It has helped to bring down a system based on contempt for the individual and human dignity and on the absence of any control over one's destiny.

The states of the CSCE have worked out a code of normal life and behavior within and between their countries. This code is neither Western nor Eastern. It is our common property, a standard for life obligatory for all.

Over the past 17 years we have become richer. Richer with each other's experience. We have become closer. We are coming to realize that the problems which arise in one country affect the prosperity and security of others and they are thus in many ways our common problems.

In 1975 we all left Helsinki in search of a new Europe and of our own place in it. Today we have returned to this lovely city to the roots of the Helsinki process. Its first stage—a period of the formulation of principles which started off the coexistence of East and West on acceptable bases—is complete. A real opportunity has emerged to move away from a revolution of words to a

revolution of deeds. We are on the threshold of the second stage—of setting the CSCE mechanisms in motion—which should be opened by the meeting to take place here in July of the leaders, now numbering 51, of the states participating in the Helsinki process. I want to congratulate all those newly accepted into our Helsinki family.

Today, the Russian minister continued, we cannot allow ourselves to put the CSCE mechanisms into motion in another 17 years' time. Life is throwing down new challenges which we are sometimes not fully able to assess and for which we often find ourselves unprepared.

In Russia there are enough people who share democratic principles, but democratic institutions are still weak. Under these circumstances, the threat arises of revanchism on the part of the old bureaucratic and party apparatus.

The past still lives on in many of us in the form of intolerance of other ways of thinking, of hungry food lines, borders that cut across ethnic divides, and in the form of conflicts which are taking away ever more lives, in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Dnestr region, and Yugoslavia.

The struggle for national self-awareness, justified under totalitarianism, in a number of places, including in Russia, threatens today to develop into extreme nationalism.

It is in order to find responses to these and other challenges that working CSCE mechanisms are needed.

At our last session in Prague, the idea was expressed of setting up the post of supreme commissar for the affairs of ethnic minorities. I proposed just such a post of commissar for the Baltic Council. It is possible, in my view, to introduce such posts for other regions as well. The adoption of a decision on ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all persons under the jurisdiction of the participating states and permanently resident on their territory, and also on protecting the interests of migrant workers, would be of practical significance.

I believe that issues of human rights and, consequently, of the rights of ethnic minorities should not be constrained by the principle of non-interference. We support the formula "consensus minus one."

On entering the CSCE, all states agree with the code of behavior adopted by consensus by all the conference's participants. If this is violated in any way, surprise inspections and monitoring [proverki po podozreniyu, mery kontrolya] should be automatically carried out. I do not see this as an infringement of national sovereignty, but rather as a form of humanitarian aid, as amicable joint work.

In my view there is nothing terrible if there are several missions of observers working simultaneously in Nagorno-Karabakh, including UN representatives. I am also counting on the efforts of the current CSCE Council of Ministers Chairman Jiri Dienstbier in settling the Karabakh conflict.

It is clearly time to get down to practical work on the issue of providing the CSCE with the resources for maintaining peace in those parts of Europe where tension is developing into armed conflicts. We could discuss the likelihood of using the infrastructure and resources of existing institutions in CSCE operations, including those of NATO.

I think that the time has come to take CSCE decisions of a mandatory nature, right up to transferring them to the level of international legal commitments. Deserving of support in this sense is the Franco-German initiative on creating a CSCE body for reconciliation and arbitration, in the subsequent elaboration of which Russian experts also took an active part. Permit me also to draw your attention to the Franco-German idea of a treaty on European security.

The accords at the talks on cutting armaments and on confidence-building measures have achieved an important political goal—the elimination of mutual suspicions and mistrust. But as has emerged in the process of implementing them, it is far from everywhere that they have enhanced the prosperity of the peoples of our countries. Furthermore, they have on occasion, especially at the outset, exerted a very contradictory effect on the economy. It is essential to jointly find ways of breaking this tendency.

Many different institutions have now emerged on the European continent; the CSCE, NATO, the European Community, the Council of Europe and others. I believe that we should not fear competition among them in the cause of strengthening stability. They rather complement one another, although, it is, of course, essential to avoid duplication, especially in bureaucratic structures.

It is no secret that Russia is currently pinning particular hopes on filling the "economic basket" of the CSCE. Effective cooperation in the field of the economy, ecology, science and technology could come to provide good external support for our reforms. Their failure would throw back not only Russian democracy, but also the development of positive processes in the entire CSCE region. We fully share the idea voiced by the respected President of Finland Mauno Koivisto that we must not allow a new division of Europe, this time by a border of prosperity.

The renewed Russia and the new Europe now have landmarks that coincide. We intend to transfer to Russian soil everything valuable that has been built up in the CSCE; the principles of relations between states, commitments, and experience in using all-European mechanisms.

A. Kozyrev said in conclusion that Russian diplomacy sees its task as making a contribution to strengthening the CSCE, and in making CSCE standards in Russia, and

in the CIS in general, a rule for every politician and statesman, and a basis for democratizing our society, whether it concerns rights to self-determination, the protection of ethnic minorities, the rights of non-indigenous citizens, or any other matter.

More on Address

LD2403162192 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Vukolov and Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki, March 24 TASS—The fourth session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) opened in Helsinki on Tuesday 24 March].

The conference, which covers the territory from Vancouver to Vladivostok, should be open for the international cooperation, Finnish President Mauno Koivisto said at the opening ceremony.

He urged the world community to prevent a new division of Europe.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said "the Helsinki process, which has become a catalyst of revolutionary events in Eastern Europe and our country, has facilitated the removal of the artificial border in the minds and lives of residents of Europe, which divided them into East and West".

Kozyrev urged the CSCE states to play a more active role in restoring peace in conflict-torn regions, including the use of NATO forces. He also suggested sending several groups of international observers to the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan.

The renovated Russia and new Europe have common goals. Russia will use CSCE experience, including principles of inter-state relations and European mechanisms, Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev's Talks in Japan Examined

PM2403162792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Sergey Agafonov report: "First Day Without Sensations. A. Kozyrev's Visit to Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Russian foreign minister's first working day in Tokyo began with talks and ended with an official supper, which Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe gave in the guest's honor. The talks were held in two rounds of two hours each, in addition to which the Russian guest spent over an hour talking with the Japanese prime minister.

After the first round, during which questions of bilateral relations were discussed, including the preparation of a peace treaty and the territorial problem, a slight panic occurred on news agencies' teletype machines, as the news that Kozyrev had "surrendered" two islands under the 1956 declaration crept in. True, the confusion was short-lived.

It soon came to light that there was no question of any surrender—it was simply that within the framework of the conversation the Russian minister, in speaking of Russia as the legal heir to the Union, had stressed that the new power recognizes all the obligations and international documents of the "old power," including the well-known 1956 Soviet-Japanese declaration which restored diplomatic relations between the two countries. For the Japanese the declaration primarily means the point about handing over the islands of Habomai and Shikotan, and that was why reporters were hasty with conclusions. In actual fact, it was precisely that point that Kozyrev did not mention.

The first day of talks did not produce any other "sensations," although the range of topics was quite rich—ranging from talks about former Japanese prisoners of war to a Russian proposal to inaugurate regular sea routes from Japan to our Far Eastern ports. It is possible to single out from the range of specific fresh topics the accord that was reached for the Japanese foreign minister to visit Moscow in May and also a Japanese proposal for Kozyrev to come back to Tokyo in August-September to prepare for Yeltsin's visit to Japan. Also noteworthy is a proposal to mark the Russian president's upcoming visit with a new joint declaration, about whose text both sides have promised to think.

As regards the meeting with the premier, judging from leaks to the press, the duration of the conversation was not reflected in its substantiveness. Miyazawa insisted that Russia recognize, at least in principle, Japanese sovereignty over the disputed islands, while Kozyrev said that what is important is external support for democratic reforms, as communists, right-wing nationalists, and conservatives are increasing attacks on proreform forces in Russia. As a result, the interlocutors agreed that the lack of a peace treaty between the two countries cannot be considered normal.

In conclusion, about an awkward moment that occurred at a news conference in the Soviet Embassy. It turned out that Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information Department, when speaking of the Russian proposal to set up regular sea communication between Japanese ports and our Far Eastern ports, managed only at the third attempt and after prompting from his compatriots to designate the Sakhalin port as Kholmsk—first it was Kholm, then Kholms... True, according to rumors, V. Churkin will soon receive an appointment to Santiago, which is far from Sakhalin. This really is excusable.

Miyazawa Discusses Kurils, Economic Issues

924C0927A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Prime Minister of Japan Kiichi Miyazawa by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA editor in chief Vitaliy Tretyakov; place and date not given: "'We Would Like to Sign a Peace Treaty Without Delay'"]

[Text] [Tretyakov] What are Japan's priorities in its relations with CIS countries?

[Miyazawa] Japan welcomes the agreement of the republics of the former Soviet Union to create the CIS through peaceful negotiations, on the principles of equal rights and respect for sovereignty. Japan would like these new states which have gained independence to develop on the basis of principles of democracy and a market economy, and to become peaceful members of the world community. I would also like these countries to comply with all obligations under the agreements signed by the former USSR with foreign states, including Japan. I would like uniform and strict control over nuclear weapons to be exercised, disarmament and arms control obligations to be complied with, and the main human rights to be upheld. Finally, I would like these countries to duly inherit commitments to pay back the debts of the former USSR, along with the continuation of economic reforms with a view to making a transition to a market economy.

Japan is not making any particular state its priority. However, as far as the Russian Federation, a great power bordering on Japan is concerned, we would like to establish with it a relationship of strong mutual trust and friendship, having settled the problem of the Northern Territories, and sign without delay a peace treaty, which we still do not have even 47 years after the war, in order to ensure that the major potential of bilateral relations is expressed.

[Tretyakov] At what stage are the Russian-Japanese negotiations on the signing of a peace treaty? How certain are you that the Russian side is interested in invigorating this process of negotiation?

[Miyazawa] I would also like to give some explanation regarding the historical aspect of the issue so that your readers will understand the position of the Japanese side. In view of the fact that the USSR did not sign the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which is a peace treaty between our country and a majority of allied countries, Japanese-Soviet negotiations were held from June 1955 to October 1956 aimed at signing a separate peace treaty between Japan and the USSR. During these negotiations, Japan stated that the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and the Habomai chain are Japanese territory, and demanded that they be returned. However, the Soviet side, having taken the position of consenting to the return of Shikotan and the Habomai chain, stated that it was impossible to return Iturup and Kunashir. Therefore, the negotiations did not end in an agreement. In view of this, negotiations on the signing of a peace treaty were transformed into negotiations primarily for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations. As a result, the Japanese-Soviet Joint Declaration was signed, which provided, in particular, for discontinuing the state of war and restoring diplomatic relations. Article 9 of the declaration sets forth that a) upon the restoration of regular diplomatic relations between the two countries, they will continue negotiations on the signing of a peace treaty, and b) that after the signing of the peace treaty, the USSR shall transfer the Habomai chain and the island of Shikotan.

The Japanese-Soviet Joint Declaration has been ratified by the parliaments of both countries, and represents a bilateral treaty registered by the United Nations. Therefore, we consider it natural, and highly praise the fact that the Government of the Russian Federation, in conjunction with the fact that it has assumed the rights and obligations of the Soviet Union under international law, believes that it will comply with the Joint Declaration, which is precisely such a treaty.

Therefore, the issue of the Habomai chain and the island of Shikotan as part of the Japanese-Soviet territorial problem has been resolved in principle by the Japanese-Soviet Joint Declaration, whereas the problem of Iturup and Kunashir remains to be solved in the process of Japanese-Russian negotiations on the peace treaty.

After the signing of the Joint Declaration, negotiations concerning a peace treaty have been periodically conducted between Japan and the USSR, but no actual results have been achieved. In particular, the USSR under a totalitarian system abandoned the agreements of the Joint Declaration and continued to take a hard line, stating for a long time that "a territorial issue does not exist." Furthermore, the reference to Japanese demands concerning the return of the Northern Territories as "illegitimate claims on Soviet territory" gave rise to a misconception to the effect that the issue of the Northern Territories is, in essence, an issue of ceding to Japan a territory which is Soviet.

However, certain factors have recently appeared which are hopeful as far as resolving this problem is concerned. The Japanese-Soviet Joint Statement, adopted during a visit by President Gorbachev to Japan in April last year, clearly confirmed for the first time, in the form of a document, that the Habomai chain and the islands of Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup are the subject of a territorial problem which is to be resolved in the peace treaty. Further on, it was stressed that an acceleration of negotiations on the signing of a peace treaty is of paramount significance. It was confirmed that the Russian Federation still complies with this Joint Statement as the only state which is a successor of the USSR. After the events of last August the Russian leadership proclaimed that the concept of victor and vanquished in the war should be removed from Japanese-Russian relations, and that the territorial issue should be resolved on the basis of the principles of "legality and justice." Unlike southern Sakhalin and the Kuril archipelago,

consisting of 18 islands to the north of Urup, claims to which Japan renounced under the San Francisco Treaty, the four northern islands were confirmed by the two countries to be Japanese territory in an absolutely peaceful manner in 1855, when state-to-state relations between Japan and Russia were established. From then on and until August 1945, when the islands were occupied by Soviet troops in a period of chaos following the end of the war, they were continuously administered by Japan. The latter has continuously stated that these four islands are to be returned to Japan from the point of view of legality and justice. In this sense we may interpret the aforementioned position of the Russian Government as hopeful.

In February this year the first meeting of a working group for the signing of a peace treaty between Japan and Russia was held; the favorable position of the Russian leadership, which states its desire to settle the territorial issue and sign a peace treaty, was confirmed once again at the meeting. We would like the negotiations to advance further during a visit to Japan by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia Kozyrev, which is scheduled for March, and later during a visit to Russia by our Minister of Foreign Affairs Watanabe, so as to bring about the radical resolution of this issue during a visit to Japan by President Yeltsin, which is planned for September.

[Tretyakov] In your opinion, what are the limits to a permissible compromise in solving the problem of the Kuril Islands?

[Miyazawa] First of all, I would like to point out that Japan is not demanding the transfer of the Kuril Islands, which amount to 18 islands north of Urup and which Japan gave up under the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Japan is demanding only the return of the four northern islands which, as I have already explained, were invariably under Japanese administration as a territory of Japan until the end of the war. The four islands in question are, historically, indigenous Japanese territory which has never been a territory of another state. Based on prewar and postwar international arrangements, including agreements with the former tsarist Russia and the former USSR, these islands are territory which should naturally belong to Japan. The legitimacy of such a position of our country is supported by many countries. However, a Russian population actually resides on these islands. I would like to solve the problem of the four northern islands while taking into account human rights and the interests of these people as much as possible. We cannot doom the current population to replicating the lot of 17,000 Japanese residents who were, in their time, forcibly exiled from the four islands without any compensation. I would like to assure you that we are prepared to be flexible as far as the form, deadlines, and terms for the actual return are concerned if the principles of returning the four northern islands on the basis of the aforementioned point of view are clearly confirmed.

[Tretyakov] Is trade on an equal footing between Russia and Japan possible, and on what conditions? Apart from raw materials and secondary resources, what may be of interest to Japanese investors in Russia?

[Miyazawa] Essentially, trade means advantages for both sides, exporters and importers alike. Our neighbor countries will enrich each other by means of boosting the turnover of mutual trade. Compared to previous years, trade between our countries is dropping in view of the economic disorder in Russia. However, our government, proceeding from its desire to facilitate the normalization of trade and economic operations, resolved in October of last year to provide insurance guarantees for foreign trade in the amount of about $1.8 billion, including investment insurance for $300 million, as well as export credit on the order of $200 million through the Export-Import Bank. If the Russian economy stabilizes with the help of, among others, these measures taken by Japan, we might hope for the further growth of investment in Russia on the part of Japan. However, the extension of large government loans will become possible, and a still more favorable environment for the operation of Japanese entrepreneurs, including trade and investment, will emerge primarily after the territorial problem is solved, a peace treaty is signed, and a long-term, stable foundation is provided for friendly relations between the two countries.

[Tretyakov] From what premises does Japan proceed in providing humanitarian and technical assistance to the countries of the region? To what degree can Russia count on this?

[Miyazawa] Japan has provided humanitarian and technical assistance to the Soviet Union since the times of President Gorbachev. We proceed from the fact that the president's efforts to introduce democratization, a market economy, and the diplomacy of new thinking are desirable not only for the people of your country but for the entire world community. Our assistance included medical equipment worth about $20 million, provided in 1990 through the World Health Organization for those who suffered from the disaster at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, the granting of about $7.7 million of food and medical aid, and a decision to finance the import of foodstuffs and drugs worth $100 million through the Export-Import Bank. In addition, Japan sent many government delegations to your country with a view to providing technical assistance in the sphere of economic management, the monetary and finance system, and the conversion of industrial production. Within one year we invited about 200 of your management specialists to Japan and initiated a program for accepting trainees in the area of entrepreneurial management.

Following the events of August your country, under the leadership of President Yeltsin, took a position of making considerably more specific efforts toward democratization and making a transition to a market economy, and with regard to relations with Japan—

toward the need to resolve the territorial issue on the principles of legality and justice. The world community welcomes this warmly. Japan has taken a number of humanitarian and technical assistance measures and trade promotion measures with regard to your country, highly praising the determination of the Russian leadership to make its country a respected member of the world community and proceeding from the policy of a balanced expansion of relations—developing economic relations as political relations improve. In October of last year we announced humanitarian and technical aid measures and trade promotion measures totaling $2.5 billion. In February of this year we provided a humanitarian aid grant of about $50 million. I intend to continue providing such aid in the future as necessary; at the same time I duly proceed in coordination with other Western countries as we observe the domestic and foreign policy of your country.

On the other hand, I believe that Russia will become a constructive partner in the process of creating a new order in the future. To this end a breakthrough is necessary in Japanese-Russian relations by solving the problem of the Northern Territories, which remains the last vestige of the cold war. If Russia is to become a constructive partner in the Asia-Pacific region, whose development is the most dynamic in the world, it cannot avoid this problem. This would signify a global departure from previous Soviet diplomacy. Therefore, the significance of the problem of the Northern Territories is global. If the people of Russia show understanding for the just hopes of the Japanese people, proceeding from legality and justice, and make the bold decision, the people of our country will provide a maximum of support to the people of Russia.

Japanese Aid Targets Far East Regions

PM2303163192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Report by Japanese Embassy Information Department under "Contacts" rubric: "Emergency Aid from Japan"]

[Text] As already reported, on 17 January this year the Japanese Government adopted a decision to grant an additional 6.5 billion yen [Y] as emergency aid (in 1991 such aid was granted to the value of Y1 billion).

The first delivery of food and medical supplies to the Far East and Central Asia was made as of 10 February this year (in all, 51 tonnes of food and medical supplies).

The second series of deliveries on a larger scale begins 20 March (in all, 500 tonnes of powdered milk for babies, 1,200 tonnes of medical supplies, and 3,100 tonnes of food packaged for individual consumption).

This consignment will be sent to Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays, to Amur, Sakhalin, Magadan, Irkutsk, and Chita Oblasts, and also to Buryatia and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

On 20 March an aircraft of the Japanese airline will fly into Khabarovsk with 21 tonnes of powdered milk for babies, and an Aeroflot aircraft will arrive in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk with nine tonnes of powdered milk.

Shokhin Arrives in Finland, Comments on Ties

LD2403143892 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 24 Mar 92

By ITAR-TASS corespondent Arkadiy Prisyazhniy]

[Text] Helsinki, March 24 [dateline as received]—Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Government for social policy, minister of labour and employment, arrived in Finland for a one-day visit on Tuesday [24 March].

Upon arriving in Helsinki-Vanta Airport, Shokhin told ITAR-TASS he intends to have negotiations with chiefs of the Finnish Government about cooperation with Finland in the social area and employment, exchange of traineers [as received] and training of managers. He said that a number of documents regulating these relations are planned to be signed.

Shokhin emphasised particularly the agreement to exchange traineers [as received]. The Russian Ministry of Labour and Employment has of late been conducting intensive negotiations with governments of West European countries to conclude agreements which would regulate exchange of traineers [as received] and workers, he said.

Russia has much interest in this exchange. According to the information of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, about 1.5 million people are ready to seek employment abroad. Another 4.5 million consider this. "In these conditions we would like this process to take place on a legal, civilised basis, so that there should be no brain drain, so that people return home enriched with knowledge and experience of advanced countries", Shokhin said. "On the other hand, the West, fearing large-scale migration from the former USSR wants to be given clear guarantees that these people will return home after some time. A package of Russo-Finnish documents is aimed at regulating these processes in the framework of agreements and contacts at the level of agencies, institutions and enterprises", he said.

"It is not only with Finland that Russia is establishing such cooperation. An agreement on contacts in this area with Germany has been initialled. In addition, the former Soviet Union has initialled a similar document with Belgium. The agreements are now prepared for the signing. We are interested in such cooperation not only with West European countries, but also with all industrialised countries. Civilised exchange of workes should serve our chief goal—the development of Russian economy and the creation in this country of the same living and working conditions as in developed countries", Shokhin said.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Latvian Referendum

LD2503101192 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, March 24 TASS—Radio Liberty reported referring to REUTERS News Agency that in Latvia they call for holding a referendum on citizenship patterned after the recent referendum in South Africa.

In this regard, the Russian Foreign Ministry released a statement by its spokesman saying: If in South Africa only white South Africans were allowed to vote, under the logic of these statements, only people who have been living in Latvia before June 17, 1940 and their descendants should take part in the referendum in Latvia. This means that primarily Russian-speaking citizens, who make up from 35 to 48 percent of Latvia's present population, would be denied the right to vote.

In other terms, the division of the people into first-rate and second-rate citizens would occur, the statement points out. Russians, Belarussians, Ukrainians, Jews and other citizens would appear to be second-rate. Even if one proceeds from the unique demographic situation in Latvia, this decision is tantamount to the attempt to respond to injustice committed in the past by the still greater injustice now and towards the people who do not have any relation to this past.

The referendum of this kind and simply the irresponsible talk about the possibility of such a poll can only heat up strained inter-ethnic relations in Latvia and turn the republic into a new source of instability in Europe, the statement emphasises.

Foreign Ministry Aide Rejects Latvian Claims

PM2403152892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Russia Rejects Latvia's Territorial Claims"]

[Text] As has already been reported, on 22 January the Latvian Supreme Council adopted the resolution "On the Nonrecognition of the Annexation of the Town of Abrene and Six Districts of Abrene Region," annulling the decision adopted in 1944 by agreement between Latvia and the RSFSR transferring the town of Pytalovo and the adjoining region with its Russian-speaking population to Pskov Oblast. At the time, this was done in accordance with the wishes of the local population.

Attempts by nationalist Latvian forces to make territorial claims against Russia have occurred before, but now that state's Supreme Council "has itself become a direct tool of the extremists and taken an alarming step toward the exacerbation of relations with the Russian Federation," a Foreign Ministry spokesman told correspondents in Moscow. In a special statement he also stressed that Latvia's claims are absolutely unfounded from both the historical and legal standpoints.

Moreover, by adopting the aforesaid resolution, the Latvian parliament is calling into question its own decision of 14 January 1991 on the ratification of the treaty on the foundations of interstate relations with Russia, which contains a pledge from the sides to respect each other's right to territorial integrity in accordance with the CSCE documents. Latvia is the first country in today's new Europe to infringe the principle of the inviolability of borders. The Latvian Supreme Council has thereby to all intents and purposes repudiated the signature of its chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs under the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE documents, which he signed 6 December 1991 on behalf of Latvia as part of its acceptance as a member of the all-European process.

The Russian Foreign Ministry has repeatedly drawn the attention of official representatives from Latvia and certain other Baltic states which have also made territorial claims—although more indirectly—to the perniciousness of this policy in general and particularly in the context of the formation of a new system of relations in Europe.

"We hope," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement notes, "that Latvian parliamentarians will find it possible to review their decision, which has exasperated the Russian and European public."

No Results in Withdrawal Talks With Lithuania

LD2103202792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The two-day negotiations between Lithuanian and Russian experts in Moscow on the withdrawal of troops ended with no tangible results. The Lithuanian experts did not get more precise information on the number of Russian troops stationed in Lithuania, although this point had been agreed upon at a previous meeting.

Coordination of stands was reached in essence only on one of the four documents tabled by Lithuania last week. It is a protocol on the technical and organizational aspects of the troops withdrawal. As for the other three, the Russian side had remarks which the Lithuanian experts promised to take into account.

In their turn the Russian experts tabled nine draft documents dealing mainly with the social needs of the military.

According to Gediminas Serksnys, a member of the Lithuanian experts group, a new achievement of the meeting was that Russia accepted the stand that it must solve issues of compensation for the harm done by the military.

The experts agreed to propose that the state negotiation delegations hold a meeting to discuss the terms and order of the troops withdrawal.

U.S. Muscle-Flexing To 'Encourage' Saddam

PM1803154792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel R. Mustafin report: "Persian Gulf: New Show of Strength"]

[Text] The patience of the United States, and not just that state, in waiting for Iraq to fulfill all the UN Security Council resolutions demanding that it destroy facilities capable of producing weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems is apparently wearing thin. This may well be the explanation for the decision announced by President Bush the other day to send to the Persian Gulf region an American-British naval force, including the aircraft carrier America. The White House has thus, by all accounts, decided to "encourage" Saddam Husayn and prompt immediate and strict fulfillment of the well-known resolutions by flexing its bloated military muscle right in front of him. The plan here, it is to be supposed, is based on the Iraqi leader's still not having forgotten the war which ended in the Persian Gulf one year ago or the fact that the White House is not minded to trifle when its interests are at stake.

How real is the possibility of force being used against Iraq this time? The White House incumbent has stated that "he would not attach undue significance to the redeployment of the aircraft carrier America." Nevertheless the United States is, in his words, fully resolved to achieve its ends.

One is bound to notice that Bush's decision came just a few days after last week's two-day discussion at the UN Security Council, where serious charges of violating previous resolutions were leveled at Iraq. The attempts by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz to demonstrate that Baghdad is honoring its commitments were not crowned with success. His arguments in favor of the relaxation of economic sanctions against Iraq were disregarded.

Baghdad's atempts to avoid international control over its military plants and the constant obstacles which the Iraqis put in the way of the UN international inspectors are easily explained. Baghdad continues to hatch plans to revive its military potential and wants to become a regional superpower again. Incidentally, no one makes a great secret of these plans. Tariq 'Aziz at any rate has stated that that his country will not renounce its right to be a major military force and create weapons of mass destruction.

Everything with Iraq is clear, as it were. With the United States it is not at all so. The United Nations has still not made any decision to use military force against Iraq. Although, as Britain's THE GUARDIAN reports, diplomats have privately spoken in the corridors about the possible use of force against Baghdad, no Security Council members have openly threatened Baghdad. These are different two things.

The United States may be assuming the role of the sole superpower too rapidly and fervently, arrogating to itself the right to decide the fate of the world and punish violators of the new world order.

Reaction to Najibullah Resignation Offer

PM2403165792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Vladimir Skosyrev report: "United Nations Plans To Hold Conference on Afghanistan at End of April. Najibullah Ready To Cede Power to Neutral Government"]

[Excerpts] "I am ready to leave my post and transfer power to the transitional government for which the United Nations is campaigning"—President Najibullah of Afghanistan issued this dramatic address to his fellow citizens on television Wednesday, 18 March.

Not surprisingly, his statement elicited a tumultuous response from news agencies. "The inevitable has happened, and the regime placed in power by Moscow must soon fall"—such is the leitmotiv of commentaries in the Western press. [passage omitted]

There can be no doubt that in the long term the president's fate is predetermined. One wonders what Moscow's reaction will be to the transfer of power in Kabul, which will inevitably happen.

"A calm reaction," a Russian Foreign Ministry staffer told me in conversation. "For Moscow has long adhered to a policy of settling the conflict by political means. This is served by our dialogue with Kabul and the mujahidin and by our consultations with the United States, Pakistan, and Iran. Therefore we approve of Najibullah's statement."

[Skosyrev] "And yet, if the UN plan fails and Najibullah is replaced in Kabul not by moderate politicians but by Islamic radicals, won't this affect the CIS states' security?"

My interlocutor said in reply: All the same, Moscow will be able to undertake little apart from diplomatic efforts. For we are unable to end the bloodshed even at our side—in Karabakh, South Ossetia... [passage omitted]

Dilemma Seen on Libya Blockade Stance

PM2403170592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Vladimir Skosyrev report: "Air Blockade of Libya Possible. Arab League Tries To Delay UN Security Council Sanctions"]

[Excerpts] The atmosphere around the Libyan Jamahiriyah and its unpredictable leader al-Qadhdhafi is hotting up. While last Sunday 22 March Arab League meeting in Cairo was trying to prevent a confrontation between Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and the West, the UN Security

Council should be meeting any day now in New York to quite possibly impose an air blockade on Libya. [passage omitted]

In short, the moment of truth is nigh. In this connection the question arises of what position Russia will take at the Security Council session. After all—as was the case with Iraq a year ago—Moscow's position is very delicate. It is no secret that Libya is equipped mainly with Soviet weapons. If we align ourselves with the demand to stop shipments of spare parts for weapons and to recall our technical specialists from Libya, we will suffer direct economic damage. After all, Tripoli is slowly but surely paying off its debt to us in the shape of oil shipments.

On the other hand, for Russia not to support the sanctions would mean to risk exacerbating relations with the West and to appear in the eyes of the international public as an insufficiently resolute opponent of terrorism. It is a difficult dilemma. Just what position will Moscow adopt? Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Foreign Ministry Information Administration, pointed out in conversation that this matter is at the discussion stage. But Russia, as is well known, supports the previously approved UN Security Council Resolution 731, which called on Libya to cooperate with the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the bombing of the airliner.

U.S. Defense Report Implications Viewed

LD2403113292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Valentin Zorin commentary]

[Text] The NEW YORK TIMES has reported that the United States plans to spend $1.2 trillion on the military over the next five years. Valentin Zorin has been looking at the implications and here is his opinion:

In past years huge expenditures for arms programs were explained by the need to counteract the Soviet military threat but today even the most hardened cold warriors make no mention of such a threat.

Nevertheless, the United States defense secretary, Richard Cheney, has just confirmed the authenticity of a Pentagon report which declared America must keep its leading role in the modern world. It follows from this that the United States intends to remain the one and only superpower. President Bush has indirectly confirmed this. Speaking in New Hampshire he said U.S. armed forces must retain the capability of getting to any point on earth quickly and must be equipped with the best military hardware making victory always the outcome.

Of course, you have to make allowance for American campaign rhetoric but even with this in mind President Bush's statement can only be seen as America's claim to policing the world. Again the government wants the American tax payer to foot the bill.

Netherlands NATO General Visits Perm

LD1903210692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] For the first time Perm is receiving a NATO general, Storm van Gravesande, military advisor to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Speaking at a meeting with the military administration and leaders of the town and oblast, the general said that he was drawn to the Kama area by an interest in how the army and military-industrial circles regard the problems related to arms reduction, the reorganization of the armed forces in Russia, and the subordination of the armed forces to the president of the Russian Federation. The Amsterdam guest also announced that a number of Dutch firms could help in building housing for officers in Perm.

'Some' Rules Changed at Chinese Border

OW2303131992 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 1045 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] An incident occurred at the Leninskoye-Tunshan ice crossing: the front wheels of several vehicles broke through the ice and into the water. Due to warm weather, the ice thawed sooner than usual, and serious consequence were avoided only because of the drivers' skill.

Some border-crossing rules have also changed at the Soviet-Chinese border. Today, CIS business people—this is the term used here—can enter the PRC only under the condition that a comrade from China meets them on our side.

Sobchak Reports Plans To Open Currency Exchange

MK1803144992 St. Petersburg Teleradiokompaniya Peterburg Television Network in Russian 1720 GMT 17 Mar 92

[From the "Telestantsiya Fakt" newscast]

[Text] Anatoliy Sobchak and Martii Ahtisaari, state secretary at the Finnish Foreign Ministry, discussed bilateral business relations at a meeting today at the Mariinskiy Palace. Anatoliy Sobchak reported that it has been decided to open a currency exchange in St. Petersburg and a similar one in Helsinki, which will ensure the convertibility of the ruble with the Finnish markka. He also proposed the establishment of a Russian-Finnish bank.

There is a real interest here in banks, particularly major ones. An international banking congress will open in St. Petersburg 8 April. Details of this grandiose undertaking will be announced to journalists at a news conference in the Mariinskiy Palace at 1100 tomorrow.

Joint Investment Fund Formed With Bulgaria

LD2403124492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1852 GMT 21 Mar 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Novosibirsk—On March 18 in Sofia, a Russian-Bulgarian investment fund Balkan-Siberia-Invest was established. Viktor Bykhanov, chairman of the Exchange Council of the Siberian Stock Exchange, told PF [POST-FACTUM] that the fund was registered as a JV [joint venture] in which the Russian party is represented by investment fund Siberia. According to him, the authorized capital of the newly established fund amounts to 5 mln levs. The investment fund Siberia intends to pay for its share in the authorized fund by selling its own shares in Bulgaria. According to Bykhanov, Siberia does not intend to import the hard currency received from sale of shares. The money is going to be put into Bulgaria investment projects.

Commodity Exchange Deal With Lithuania Cited

PM2503095392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 92 First Edition p 3

[IMA-PRESS report under the "Chronicle" rubric: "Uranium in the Morning, Milk in the Evening"]

[Text] Documents defining the volume of and procedure for commodity exchange between Russia and Lithuania have been signed. The clearing exchange agreement (offsetting mutual deliveries) is to total $2.6 billion. Russia will deliver 5.5 million tonnes of oil and 4.1 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Station will receive 1,430 nuclear fuel cassettes [kasseta]. In return the Lithuanian Republic will send to Russia 70,000 tonnes of meat, 400,000 tonnes of milk, fish, and products for which Soviet Lithuania was once "responsible" in the USSR—autocompressors, tank and tractor fuel pumps, television components, and chips needed by the military-industrial complex.

Aluminum Export Quota 'One-Shot Decision'

PM2503090992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Elmar Guseynov: "Aluminum Onslaught From The East"]

[Text] Moscow—"The decision forced on the Russian authorities to authorize the export of 615,000 tonnes of aluminum shook Western producers." That was the FINANCIAL TIMES' assessment of the unexpected news disseminated by the INTERFAX agency.

We were able to establish at the Russian Foreign Economic Relations Ministry that it was a one-shot decision by the government. Aluminum will be supplied in exchange for customer-supplied raw material, with which there were problems last year. That is, raw material for the production of aluminum. So these supplies will be on top of what private firms and state enterprises plan to export. The latter figure is 600,000-700,000 tonnes.

This decision is bound to sow panic among all the aluminum producers of the world, particularly the heads of European firms. Last year a salvo of deliveries, amounting to between 800,000 and one million tonnes, contributed to a sharp reduction in prices and the curtailment of production, above all in Europe.

One million tonnes of Soviet aluminum is close to 10 percent of the total volume of trade in the metal on the international market. In 1991 aluminum production in the West fell from 14.79 to 14.37 million tonnes. That despite the practically universal increase in demand in the last few years. This is mainly due to dumping exports from the CIS countries and low prices.

Because of the fall in prices, nigh-on 70 percent of all Western countries' aluminum production facilities are making a loss. Enterprises in Spain and Italy, where production costs are high, are particularly badly hit.

Hardly anywhere in the world is it still profitable to construct new aluminum production plants. Many companies have been forced to accept losses, since it would be even more costly to close.

Nonetheless, smelting is being reduced. At the start of 1992 a number of Western companies announced an overall reduction of 929,000 tonnes in annual production. But the reduction does not stop there. Experts predict that on top of that capacities of a further 200,000 tonnes could be subject to cuts.

Aluminum producers entered 1992 with the faint hope that the "onslaught from the East" might ease. The assumption was that it would be possible to resolve the question of regulating exports from Russia through EC channels. Moreover, the hope was expressed that the economic difficulties would lead to a fall in the production of the metal in our country.

As a result, the average monthly quotations for aluminum on the London metals exchange in January were $1.177 per tonne compared with $1.097 last December. But the Russian government's recent decision could initiate a long period of low aluminum prices.

I would point out that in 1991 Russian firms earned around $1 billion from aluminum exports. So both authorities and entrepreneurs will take a dim view of any efforts to artificially limit supplies of our aluminum to world markets. However, such efforts cannot be ruled out, considering the situation in the sector the world over.

Taiwan Ship Delivers Rice Aid to Russian Port

LD2403234892

[Editorial report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian, in its "Novosti" newscast at 0900 GMT on 23 March, carries a 1-minute video report by correspondent L. Savitskiy from Vladivostok, where the vessel Ever Splendor has just delivered 10,000 tonnes of rice from Taiwan. This amount exceeds the annual allocation of

rice to the Maritime kray from Russia's central stockpiles. Taiwan is to send a total of 100,000 tonnes. The Ever Splendor is the first Taiwanese vessel to dock in a Russian port.

The video shows the ship, port scenes, and interviews with an unidentified Taiwan dignitary and the ship's captain.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin's Additional Powers Not Dictatorship

LD2503121492 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS corresponents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin said Wednesday [25 March] he needs the additional powers vested with him by a Congress of Russian People's Deputies last year to enforce executive discipline from top to bottom. He denied that means dictatorship.

The president informed the "Smena - New Policy" parliamentary group, with whom he met today, that Russia began to work out a new military doctrine. He denied rumours that Galina Starovoytova, a presidential aide on ethnic problems, will be appointed Russian defence minister.

Commenting on the referendum in Tatarstan, Yeltsin called not "to dramatise the situation" and said Russia will undoubtedly sign a bilateral agreement with Tatarstan, preferably before the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies.

"Dramatic decisions" are not planned against the Chechen leadership either, the president stressed.

Yeltsin Meets With Multiparty Representatives

LD2403211892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Russian society is really becoming multiparty. This was shown by the meeting that took place on Tuesday [24 March] between President Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of democratically orientated parties and movements. Representatives of 16 parties assembled in the Kremlin office of the head of state—Christian and Democratic, the Cadets, the Narodniks, the Trudoviks, the Social Democrats, the Liberals, and Democratic Christians. Our correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov gives the details:

[Osipov] As journalists were told after the meeting, President Boris Yeltsin expressed the most concern over two things. The first was the forthcoming congress and its discussion of the constitution. The second was the opposition's dissatisfaction with the government's actions and the lack of cohesion of the democratic forces, parties, and movements. Boris Yeltsin noted that if the people's deputies do not accept the Russian constitution, he already has a plan for further action. The details of this plan are not yet being revealed.

Regarding the attacks by opposition forces on the government, the president firmly stated that for now he will remain at the head of a cohesive and working team. Yeltsin admitted, however, that the most difficult thing economically is the forthcoming fuel price hike in May and early June. This is a difficult but essential step, the president said.

The party leaders asked Boris Yeltsin whether taxes will be lowered for small and medium-sized enterprises. The president gave a positive reply to this, saying that in early May the appropriate documents will be signed which will bring in a special taxation regime for small and medium-sized businesses. Otherwise, as Yeltsin stressed, the struggle against monopolism would be in vain.

Touching on the creation of Russia's military structures, the president has signed three decrees, one of which is on the disbandment of the Defense Committee and the creation of a Russian Ministry of Defense. The concept of this department is being worked on. In the near future it will become known, together with the basic theses of the military doctrine of the Russian Federation.

The party leaders touched on the question of the referendum in Tatarstan, but Boris Yeltsin asked them not to dramatize the event or whip up passions about it. Evidently, when the federation treaty is signed, special accords will be concluded with Tatarstan. The question of introducing presidential rule in Tatarstan was not discussed at the meeting.

The party leaders listened to the opinions of the president and departed. But the question arises, do these parties have the strength capable of providing support on those issues that now most worry the Russian leadership?

Denies Resignation Rumors

LD2403210292 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ludmila Aleksandrova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is not going to resign from his post of the chairman of the government. Yeltsin said this at the meeting with the leaders of 16 democratic political arties and movements in the Kremlin on Tuesday [24 March].

Acting press secretary of the president, Aleksey Novikov, told reporters that according to Yeltsin, "an attack will be launched against the government and the policy of reform as a whole", "a fight to compel the president to give up his post of the chairman of the government". Yeltsin said it would be difficult for the government to

remain in power if he gave up his post. The majority of the participants in the meeting supported Yeltsin's intention to keep his post, Novikov added.

Yeltsin pointed out that the forthcoming Congress of Russian People's Deputies was not going to be an easy one as the opposition "is raising its head" and complained of the incoherent character of the democratic movement.

Yeltsin supported the idea of holding an assembly of Russian citizens on the eve of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies and said he would address the assembly.

Yeltsin called the last Friday's [20 March] CIS summit in Kiev "the most fruitful" one since the Commonwealth was created. The signing of all the agreements on the CIS Joint Armed Forces and the resolving of all problems, pertaining to the CIS borders, evidenced to that, Yeltsin said.

One of the major results of the Kiev summit was that the share of all the CIS member-states in the overall Soviet debt was determined. It is now possible to discuss joining the International Monetary Fund in late April—early May this year, he added.

Yeltsin described the internal situation in Russia as "very difficult", but there are some positive moments, like the preparation for the spring sowing campaign. Russia is even able to assist other CIS member-states in it, Yeltsin said.

The forthcoming increase of fuel prices will be "a difficult test", but Russia must overcome it, as this is an IMF demand, Yeltsin said. The prices will be increased in late May—early June, he commented.

Yeltsin rejected the use of force in resolving the problem of Tatarstan, which held a referendum of independence on Sunday [22 March].

Representatives of democratic parties, which may be considered loyal to Russian leadership, took part in the meeting.

Yeltsin Decrees Appoint Various Officials

PM2503090592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] A decree of the Russian Federation president has appointed Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Pyshnyy chairman of the Commission on the Use of Airspace and Air Traffic Control under the Russian Federation Government.

A decree of the Russian Federation president has appointed Abdulakh Kasbulatovich Mikitayev chairman of the Commission on Questions of Citizenship under the Russian Federation president. Yu.V. Zaytsev has been released from this post in connection with a reassignment.

A decree of the Russian Federation president has formed the Committee on Vocational Education of the Russian Federation Ministry of Education. Valeriy Mikhaylovich Zavarykin has been appointed chairman of the Committee on Vocational Education of the Russian Federation Ministry of Education and deputy minister of education of the Russian Federation.

A decree of the Russian Federation president has appointed Anatoliy Rakitov, adviser to the Russian Federation president on questions of scientific and technical policy and computerization, as leader of the Information-Analytical Center of the Russian Federation president's administration. The center embraces the previously created information department of the Russian Federation president.

Rutskoy Opens Conference on Russia's Future

LD2403181492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russia in the 21st century—this is the subject of a scientific-practical conference that began today. Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy made the opening address to the gathering. [video shows conference in progress, Rutskoy at podium] The conference agenda includes matters relating to the social and economic problems of Russia, the revival of the countryside, the problems of young people, and state building issues. During the discussions, eminent academics are trying to make scientific forecasts about the future of the Russian state and to draw up an outline for social and economic development which the participants hope might be useful for policy.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Do you believe in Great Russia?

[Rutskoy] Of course, of course, no one's going to give us any other homeland. This is ours, why should we need any other? So we have to think about our homeland. [end recording; video shows Rutskoy interviewed in foyer of conference hall]

Privatization, 'Open Blunder' Viewed

LD2403181992 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said privatisation in Russia proceeds chaotically and is accompanied by open plunder.

Speaking at the opening of the scientific conference "Russian Federation on the Threshold of the 21st Century," Rutskoy said the process of privatisation will remain uncontrolled until economic reforms create owners in the country.

To this end he proposed to privatise state property and hand over shares and certificates to the population.

The vice president stressed the need for a mathematical model of privatisation, which would take into the account the current situation. He said the models used in Bolivia, Poland and Finland are unacceptable in Russia.

The conference will last till March 25.

Constitution's Wording Examined Before Congress

LD2403145592 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The Russian constitutional commission has decided to submit the draft constitution of the Russian Federation to the forthcoming 6th Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. It was also decided to publish the draft constitution in the press.

As proposed by the autonomous formations and the parliamentary "sovereignty and equality" faction, the term "subject of the federation" has been deleted from the draft and replaced by the following phrase: "the republics, territories, regions, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, as well as autonomous regions and autonomous districts make up the Russian Federation".

On the motion of the republics, the draft does not determine the powers of the republics, except those that they have delegated to the Russian Federation.

Executive secretary of the constitutional commission Oleg Rumyantsev believes the initialled federative treaty is "a serious step towards the implementation of the principle of federalism in Russia's state structure".

Plans for Novaya Zemlya Facility Discussed

LD2503015592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] For many years our Union monster—the military-industrial complex—kept its secrets. Through its efforts the Novaya Zemlya nuclear test range was created right on the edge of the Arctic. And this archipelago is again an object of our anxiety. Listen to what Vladimir Loyter, the Archangelsk correspondent of Russian Radio, reports.

[Loyter] Only under pressure by the Greens, numerous protests, and statements by people's deputies of all levels, did the former secrets become available to the public and they are depressing. The residents of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk and the inhabitants of the Komi Republic heaved a sigh of relief when last year Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin declared a moratorium. And again, Novaya Zemlya has become an object of anxiety for the native inhabitants. The Russian president signed a decree on transferring the Novaya Zemlya test range to Federal ownership. It is commented upon by Valeriy Krimnus, the Russian president's representative in Arkhangelsk Oblast:

[Begin Krimnus recording] Particular anxiety among the inhabitants of the oblast was aroused by misunderstood information to the effect that allegedly new tests on Novaya Zemlya would start. The decree speaks not of the start of tests but of their possibility, if there is a need to put a stop to the moratorium that has been declared by the Russian Federation president. These things are on the whole different, to be blunt: either to start or to speak of the possibility of a start. I have no doubt that the program that the government has been instructed to draw up will envisage questions both for the protection of man and for the protecton of ecology. While previously the tests were staged according to the Defense Ministry's plan and the views of the local authorities was not taken into acount and concern for man was expressed only in declarations, now the government program will have to provide both for the protection of man, the protection of ecology and, evidently, other kinds of social protection in our country. [end recording]

Referendum Results in 'Major Political Defeat'

PM2503120392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Mar 92 pp 1-2

[Vladimir Isakov "Parliamentary Diary": "Mirror Image"]

[Text] I admit it—I was hoping for a miracle. After all, on more than one occasion B.N. Yeltsin has been frankly lucky in critical situations. Alas, this time fortune turned its back on him: By a small majority, the population of Tatarstan voted to set up a sovereign democratic state—a subject of international law. The Russian president and Supreme Soviet have suffered a major political defeat.

Was it chance, or was it inevitable? Without doubt, this question has been playing on journalists' and commentators' minds for a long time now. In my view, this defeat is the objective result of a policy inspired and organized by B.N. Yeltsin. Having declared the superiority of Russian laws over Union laws, specified "alimony" payments to the USSR which nobody actually intended to pay, and confiscated Union property, he should have been prepared for the example to catch on and for autonomous republics, fighting for their independence, to treat Russia likewise. It does not take great intelligence or a wealth of insight to understand that the disintegration of the Union federation will not stop at the door of the RSFSR. Therefore, for me the hysterical appeals to the Tatarstan president and Supreme Soviet smack of more than a little hypocrisy. It is quite obvious

that President Shaymiyev's actions are merely a mirror image of President Yeltsin's policy.

When visiting the European Parliament, I became convinced: The Europeans value their union. For more than 40 years they have been moving toward unification, building it brick by brick: from agreed prices to transparent internal borders; from a joint budget to programs for improving backward regions; from agreed currency rates to a single European currency. Political integration has developed alongside this: from consultative organs to a directly elected European Parliament; from recommendations to binding decisions taking priority over national laws. Yes, Mr. Sovereignty, that's what I said: **enshrining the supremacy of Community legislation over national laws in the constitution is an obligatory condition of joining the EC.** So it appears that it is possible to safeguard one's own sovereignty without proclaiming oneself above everyone in the whole wide world. It is a pity that we are so blind: Everything which they have sought to build over 40 years, we have destroyed and squandered in something like four months!

Why is it that they strive for unification, they value it, while in our country people can't wait to break free? There are many reasons, the main one being the adventurism and unpredictability of current Russian policy. In frank talks, republic representatives readily reveal: "We are afraid of your president. While he is in power, there can be no Union."

The hype-saturated signing of the Federal Treaty is unlikely to halt Russia's collapse. Despite initialing this agreement, the krays and oblasts are dissatisfied because according to the treaty they receive fewer rights than the republics in the RSFSR. The republics in turn are outraged that henceforth their right to self-determination is only possible "as part of a Federal Russian State."

But what about Checheniya and Tatarstan, who have no intention of signing anything? For them the following formulation is stipulated: Any republic which refrains from signing the treaty must regulate its relations with Russia on the basis of the Russian Federation Constitution. In this way, signing the treaty or otherwise becomes a pure formality, as in either case the republic will fall under the jurisdiction of the new Russian Constitution. In other words, whether you like it or not, and whether you want it nor not, you are still considered a "marriage partner."

Let's consider the possible outcome of all this. Gorbachev's Union Treaty envisaged similar measures of "legal violence" for states in the Baltic region. They too subscribed to the new Union "automatically." As we know, this did not stop anybody: On the contrary, it emphasized the authorities' impotence and their inability to implement decisions, and ultimately it pushed the Union over the edge. Similar results can be expected in Russia, too.

So what's to be done? Should Checheniya and Tatarstan be allowed to secede from the RSFSR? In my view, the most sensible thing in the existing situation would be **to postpone signing the treaty and adopting a new constitution.** Conditions are not right for them. Were they to be signed in current conditions, they would inevitably reinforce the federation's state of semi-collapse. After this, it would be only a matter of time before total collapse. Let me remind you that under the current RSFSR Constitution we are still together—what else do we need? For this reason alone the current RSFSR Constitution is worth preserving and tending, and protecting from national and political extremism alike.

Thus, once again Russian politicians face a choice: At one end of the scale there is a strong wish to destroy the Constitution which labels Russia a "union," "Soviet," and "socialist" republic, and on the other there is the fear that the Russian Federation which turns up for the solemn act of adopting a new constitution will be incomplete. What choice will be made?

Let's put important documents aside for a while and talk about people—those same people by whose hands the economic reform is being implemented, a reform which is intended (as usual!) to bring them happiness. Let's concentrate on industrial enterprise directors—one of the most numerous and most influential groups at the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies.

At a meeting with government representatives they described the critical situation in their enterprises and presented the government with a harsh indictment and a whole list of demands. It would seem that if Russia has a strength, then this is it, the director... Alas, it is not so simple.

The "captains of industry" are in a difficult situation right now. Below there is a seething lava of production and social problems, with pressure from the labor collectives rising with every passing day. Above there are strict presidential decrees and contradictory signals from government spheres. Ahead lies privatization, shareholding, conversion, and the uncertain prospects of a market economy.

From their standpoint, they see better than others the adventurism of current economic policy, they understand its callousness and cynical calculations, and they are first to feel the blow of legal excesses. It is easy to criticize if you do not have responsibility for anything. But what if you have the weight of a thousands-strong labor collective on your shoulders? Hence the cautious attitude toward the authorities, upon whom to a great extent benefits, quotas, credits, prosperity, and the very life of labor collectives depend.

For their part, the authorities do not hide their interest in the director corps. Having instigated a radical "clean-up" of society, scything through people's fates as if through long grass, the authorities themselves need support and backing like never before. To get it, they are prepared to "sweeten" part of the working class with

preferential wage rates and give directors free blocks of shares. If you were in an aircraft which was about to crash and someone offered you your own parachute—would you refuse?

Therefore, when evaluating the prospects for the forthcoming Congress let's not be too optimistic. Despite all the unattractiveness of the government's economic policy, it is not yet certain that it will be rejected by the Congress. The outcome of the struggle depends on whether or not the people themselves will have the final say.

It looks like the problem of human rights in Russia will once again be a permanent feature on the agenda at the United Nations and other international forums before long. The attempt to set up a powerful punitive force by merging the KGB and the Interior Ministry, the efforts to monopolize the media and smother the opposition press, and finally the blatant use of force 23 February, prove that the current Russian leadership is by no means fastidious about its choice of means. When it is a matter of power, the law, democratic procedures, and political decency fly out of the window, like garbage, and force comes to the fore.

The events of recent days produced new and alarming facts. In line with an order by General Prosecutor Stepankov, a "prophylactic" measure was implemented—USSR people's deputies were threatened with legal proceedings for taking part in an extraordinary congress, and some even had their internal passports confiscated. Do I have to point out that this is outrageous tyranny, an attempt to use the law enforcement organs for political ends? An "Assembly of Russian Federation Citizens" will convene in the Kremlin 4 April—some members of the government are openly calling this an alternative organ of power, a prototype of a Constituent Assembly. According to the organizers' thinking, it should replace the Congress of People's Deputies if the latter opposes the continuation of adventurous reforms. This would seem to be a direct threat to the activities of constitutional representative organs of power, but the Prosecutor's Office remains silent—nothing strange here.

The group of experts and elaborators of the alternative draft RSFSR Constitution was subjected to pressure and tyranny, right up to the threat of dismissal from their job. Some of them retracted, removing their signatures from the draft, but the majority persisted. Imagine the outcry and the appeals which would pour into the UN Committee on Human Rights and the International Court in the Hague, and indeed to the world community if former "partyocrats" had done anything like this. Perhaps the incidents cited are not that significant, but they are fairly telling: All the indications are that it is now the time to wash the floors and tidy things up in the Perm [prison camp] "zone"...

Last week the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on restoring prerevolution military honors—the Order of Saint George, and the "George Cross" insignia of excellence. Of course, it is good that the symbols of Russian military glory are being returned to us from history. The only thing is... what are they awarded for now? Military action in Karabakh? Fighting in the Dnestr Region? Withdrawing from Lithuania without loss? The George Cross used to be awarded "for God, the Tsar, and the Fatherland." God has turned his back on us; but we ourselves have turned our backs on the Fatherland.

Official Sees 'No Need' for Tatarstan Secession

LD2403215292 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS news analyst Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The results of the referendum in Tatarstan will not bring about the republic's secession from the Russian Federation, believes Valeriy Tishkov, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the National Policy.

Professor Tishkov told ITAR-TASS that the results of the referendum, during which the majority of its participants favoured state sovereignty for Tatarstan, cannot be viewed as the absolutely accurate reflection of the sentiments of the republic's population. He thinks such polls do not represent a form of the genuine expression of the people's will due to the "rather low level of the civic maturity" of the population and politicians' "manipulation".

Tishkov thinks that Tatarstan's leaders, balancing on the brink of the permissible in politics, have gained with the help of the referendum an opportunity to put pressure on the centre to assert the republic's fuller independence and their personal positions.

Tishkov assumes that the republic's leaders will stop at this point. Especially since it is necessary that the possible increase in the activity of the Russian-speaking population who object against the republic's secession from the federation should be taken into account. "There is no need and possibility for secession," Tishkov said.

He believes that in this situation the centre should behave prudently and avoid impulsive actions to prevent the citizens of the republic, who are unwilling to quit Russia, from falling into panic.

Observer Says Referendum 'Ended in Nothing'

PM2403171592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Political observer Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "Commentary": "Nothing To Rejoice at Either in Kazan or in Moscow"]

[Text] So, the referendum has been held in Tatarstan. According to preliminary data, 81.6 percent of the population participated in it, 61.4 percent of those who voted replied positively to the question posed on the voting paper, 37.2 percent said "no," and approximately 1.5 percent of the voting papers were neither in Kazan nor in Moscow. [sentence as published]

As soon as the first preliminary voting results became known on the morning of 22 March, M. Mulyukov, leader of Tatarstan's main nationalist movement, hastened to declare that the referendum results attest to the desire of the majority of the population of Tatarstan for the republic's full independence from Russia, and this, he said, gives grounds for seeking Tatarstan's representation at the United Nations.

In fact, if you make an objective assessment of its results, it should be noted that just 50 percent of the adult population (50.1-50.2 percent according to preliminary data) replied positively to the referendum question. Those who said "yes" make up precisely this proportion of the republic's total electorate (2.66 million people). A referendum is, after all, not an election of a political leader, and the decisive role here is played not by the opinion of the majority of those who participated but by the attitude of the majority of the entire adult population. From this position it is significant that Tatarstan's major cities, starting with its capital—Kazan—answered "no" to the referendum question.

Therefore, if we are to speak of conclusions, two suggest themselves. First, what the Russian Supreme Soviet, Constitutional Court, and president warned of has happened: The initiator of the referendum has split Tatarstan practically into two equal halves—admittedly, along political lines at present.

Second, since almost 20 percent of the republic's adult population did not participate in the referendum, the referendum has virtually ended in nothing, as the present leadership of Tatarstan cannot take one-half of the population with it away from Russia and leave the other half in situ, figuratively speaking. This means taking the rural population with it, since the majority of the urban population answered "no" to the referendum question.

But the referendum has nonetheless been held, and in its wake a very complex situation will begin to take shape. Now, if the leaders of Tatarstan avoid signing the Federal Treaty, tension in this former autonomous entity can be expected to grow quickly, this time not along political lines but on ethnic grounds because, according to reports from Tatarstan by international observers, it was mainly the Russian inhabitants of this republic who left the word "no" on the referendum voting paper.

To this it should be added that in the event of too overstated demands in the economic sphere from the Tatarstan leadership (and it is possible to foresee this), tension will increase in relations between Tatarstan and the Russian Government. This should be expected for the obvious reason that the ideas of the Tatarstan leadership—particularly of the nationalist-minded leaders—about the republic's fabulous wealth which supposedly makes it possible to secede from Russia are based only on an assessment of the natural potential and take no account of the realities of the situation in the economy. Meanwhile, the actual reality here is much more complex and cautions against such rash steps. The technical equipment of the Tatarstan petroleum complex, for example (which, strictly speaking, cannot still be called a complex), is so worn out and obsolete that it will take tremendous capital investments and time to restore it. Or the KamAZ Truck Plant. It will not be able to function at all without cooperative ties with other parts of Russia.

All this means that the implementation of an absolutely independent economic policy, which is what certain leaders are calling for, will require the inhabitants of Tatarstan to pull their belts quite tight at first.

I would like to hope, however, that the leadership of Tatarstan realizes this. And that, following the referendum, it will decide to participate in the signing of the Federal Treaty, because any other path leads to a confrontation which neither Moscow nor the population of Tatarstan needs.

Picketers Protest PRAVDA Closure

LD2403153392 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kikilo]

[Text] Moscow March 24—There were pickets on Tuesday [24 March] outside the building of the Russian Ministry of the Press and Information to protest against the halting of the newspaper PRAVDA's publication. Pickets were organised by the newspaper's readership and the Working Moscow Movement. As is known, PRAVDA, formerly the central newspaper of the Communist Party, ceased to appear from March 14 because of financial difficulties. Shortly before that, the oldest newspaper founded by Vladimir Lenin in 1912 had to decrease its publication from six to three times a week.

The picketers demanded equal rights for all the media organisations, as well as their readers and subscribers. Igor Malyarov, secretary of the restored Moscow committee of the Komsomol and one of organisers of the picket, said that subscribers to PRAVDA and subscribers to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the official publication of Russian parliament, are put in unequal conditions. Although both paid approximately equal sums of money to subscribe to the newspapers for 1992, subscribers to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA are getting the newspaper. Subscribers to PRAVDA are not so lucky.

"We hope to resume the publication of PRAVDA soon", Gennadiy Seleznev, PRAVDA editor-in-chief, told ITAR-TASS. He was elected to this post by the newspaper's collective of journalists in August 1991, when PRAVDA proclaimed its independence. He said this

may happen next Thursday and Saturday. Everything depends on formalising the credits, and the process is made difficult by "economic dissaray" in the country.

According to the estimates of PRESSA publishing house, where PRAVDA is printed, the newspaper's debt rose to 250 million roubles because of steep rise in prices of newsprint, and the growing cost of the services of transport workers, communication workers and printers. It is not easy for the newspaper to find serious sponsors since its journalists own nothing but office equipment in the editorial office in Pravda Street.

The editor-in-chief believes that although there is nothing wrong in subsidising the press, for instance official newspapers, such as ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, which received around 300 million roubles in subsidies on a decision of the Russian parliament, the main thing is to ensure strict observance of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on the support for the press in the transitional period. Seleznev believes it is being torpedoed. He believes that funds should be invested not in newspapers, but in the manufacture of newsprint, in transport services and printing production, to keep the prices of newsprint and other expenditures down to a reasonable level.

Seleznev admitted that the ten-day stoppage of the newspaper has already resulted in negative consequences. Partners are being lost within the country and abroad, advertising that is so essential during the transition to a market is being disrupted. Besides that, all this is morally difficult. Seleznev believes that not only PRAVDA's destiny is jeopardised.

Implications of Press Subsidies Viewed

PM2403150692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Mikhail Berger: "What Price Press Independence? Russian Authorities Discuss Question of Support for Press"]

[Text] The situation is developing in such a way that newspapers—many, if not all of them—may become victims of their own victory. Having called for the swiftest possible advent of the market, newspapermen are faced with the threat of ending up out of work because of freed prices for paper and distribution services. This turn of events should be considered a victory for market justice—which is what they were fighting for...True, the purity of this claim is undermined by the fact that this peculiar "economic retribution" descended also on publications whose stance was very far from capitalist values. PRAVDA, which has become the first victim of free prices and has perhaps contributed least of all to what is happening with prices, was the first, and so far only, indirect manifestation of market symptoms.

On the other hand, the papers which fought fervently for economic freedoms have already received protection from parliament in the form of direct financial aid. The fact that they were founded by the Supreme Soviet or other organs of power served as the grounds for this exemption from the market game. The ambivalence of the situation consists in the fact that among the taxpayers whose money parliament used for this purpose are readers of PRAVDA and other newspapers not having the honor to be founded by the authorities.

There are some problems (and recently their numbers have been increasing) which have no good solutions. This situation with the press is one of these. Do journalists have the right to claim a special status at a time when the full force of the market (or the pressures arising in connection with the intention of moving toward the market) is hitting other spheres of activity? The question is a difficult one, since a negative answer to it could lead to the public being left without a public opinion, that is to say, without the ability to express it freely and independently. But an affirmative answer is also bad since, once they receive direct subsidies from the authorities, newspapers can no longer consider themselves fully independent. He who pays the piper, however tactfully he may behave toward the recipients [donory] (and our authorities can hardly be suspected of excessive tact), cannot help listening to see what kind of music is played by the band that got his money. The bony hand of direct financial aid can strangle a publication with no less success than financial starvation or the political censorship of party agitprop.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA was among the first to receive substantial aid (237 million rubles [R]) from the Russian Supreme Soviet. It was presumably pure coincidence that on the same day that the decision to allocate subsidies to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA was adopted in the morning, the same parliamentary Commission for the Mass Media (only in the afternoon) held hearings into ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. In other words, from riding high as regards its financial position, the paper right away fell flat on its face.

The Russian president's well-known decree on support for the periodical press provokes a mixed feeling of pleasant disappointment. On the one hand, you are grateful for not being thrown to the mercy of force majeure circumstances and for the decision to support you; on the other hand—the measures proposed in the decree and elaborated in developing it destroy the paper market, or distort it literally from its inception. Direct subsidies to the newspapers who are their consumers have only whetted the appetites of paper producers: Their clients have grown richer at state expense, so it is possible to demand more from them.

Of course, the best of all the bad scenarios of a settlement of this problem (and the most democratic) would be for aid, if we cannot do without it, to be granted to ABSOLUTELY ALL periodical publications. But democracy does not come cheap, and neither the government nor parliament is capable of helping all Russia's 25,000 periodical publications. In all R9.2 billion has been

allocated to maintain freedom of speech. If the democratic path is taken, then that works out at an average of no more than R370,000 per publication. For some publications this money would not suffice even to place an announcement about its ceasing to exist in one of the large-circulation newspapers.

The Russian Supreme Soviet Commission for the Mass Media, Liasion with Social Organizations and Mass Movements of Citizens, and the Study of Public Opinion examined this question the other day. A total of 120 federal publications will receive R5.5 billion in material aid. The remaining money will go to local publications.

Should those who have received something from the "glasnost support fund" be envied? Perhaps we should sympathize with them: After all, the majority, despite the drastic reduction in the list of the needy, will still only be getting peanuts (if they get anything at all); but the spirit of the influence of the authorities, of "ruble censorship," will hover identically over all the recipients [donory], irrespective of the amount of aid. Perhaps, on the contrary, the political gains of those who find themselves excluded from the list should be envied: PRAVDA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA? In response to my question as to why these papers were not on the list, the Ministry of the Press and Information explained: They did not apply for aid. Not the most convincing line of argument. IZVESTIYA, for example, also did not submit an official request on this score, but along with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, and other publications, well-known or otherwise, we ended up on the list of recipients of aid. The list of papers left without aid gives grounds to suppose that it is not a question of formally requesting aid.

The emergence of political motives in the solving of the problem of the economic situation of the press leaves little chance that intelligent opposition in the press will be preserved. It did not exist before either, but does society gain if, as a result of selective assistance, it does not exist now, in democratic times?

The reader is probably entitled to ask irritably: What are they after, these journalists, who first complained that they had no money, and now that they have received it are still not satisfied? Whatever you do, it is always bad for them...But it would be worse still if things were different. If the press loses the right or the possibility of voicing grievances, no subsidies will save it.

Poltoranin Expects High Energy Price Increase

LD2503102492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] I have just come back from a news conference by Mikhail Nikitovich Poltoranin, vice prime minister of the Government of the Russian Federation, minister of press and information. This news conference had a rather complicated title: new geopolitical space, politics, power and information. But it seems that the most important news that journalists learned at this conference was the fact that an agreement was reached at the joint meeting of Russian and Kazakh governments in Uralsk a few days ago that prices on energy carriers, on oil, will be freed beginning in June this year, not earlier.

I think this information is rather important. Everyone is concerned about it. Answering one of the questions, Poltoranin noted that many enterprises have already included the additional cost of the future freeing of prices on oil products into the prices of products which are sold, or were sold in the last few months according to free prices. But he believes that prices of various products may increase by 80 to 100 percent as a result of this action.

Another theme discussed at today's meeting was the government's attitude toward the Constitution, toward the draft of the Constitution, toward the new draft being worked on now, which will be submitted for approval of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies in the next few days. It turned out, and it seems that it is the first time that this has been acknowledged, that there are some disagreements between the government and the Supreme Soviet concerning the draft of the Constitution. But there is hope that in the next few days these points of contention will be resolved.

Shokhin Issues Unemployment, Pension Figures

LD2403143392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] According to data from the Russian Government, the number of registered unemployed has increased by 25 percent from June last year to February this year and has reached almost 70,000, and the number of people receiving unemployment benefit in January this year has grown from 12,000 to 18,000.

According to Aleksandr Shokhin, Russian Federation minister of labor and employment, the republic's government intends to introduce a law on state pensions from 1 May this year, and not from July as was planned previously. It is recognized as inexpedient to tie the amount of pension to the size of the minimum wage. In making pension estimates, it is proposed to proceed from the living wage for this category of the population. According to expert estimates, the minimum pension should amount to approximately 650 rubles per month.

Shokhin on Kuzbass Situation, Wage Rises

LD2003114992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1823 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Studio interview with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin by correspondent Makarov on 18 March; from the "Facing Russia" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Makarov] In our studio today is Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Government. The first question for you, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, will be on the subject of your trip to Kemerovo. The newspapers have written a great deal about the strike and the situation which was allegedly planned in that region.

[Shokhin] [passage omitted] As far as governmental decisions are concerned, they should be taken here in Moscow. People are now coming here from Kuzbass and tomorrow we shall work on preparing specific measures.

What are these measures? What have we proposed and what are we going to work on now? Well, in the first place, the government has made proposals—and, by the way, unfortunately the Supreme Soviet did not discuss these questions today—but nonetheless the government proposed to begin a new round of wage rises from 1 April in the budget-financed sectors. This could, to a certain extent, resolve the problem in Kuzbass and in other regions of the country. In order, however, to take account of the specific features of Kuzbass, Vorkuta, Tyumen, and other regions which have concentrations of basic industries, we have proposed a mechanism for a stage by stage zonal raising of wages. [passage omitted]

[Makarov] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, you spoke about a new round of wage rises. I would simply like to know, and I think our viewers will be interested, whether this round will be in line with inflation as it exists today? [passage omitted]

[Shokhin] Today we spent half the day in the Supreme Soviet discussing proposals—well, not the government's proposals, but we discussed this subject. The government's position—I think the president set it out back in November—is that we must strive to ensure that people's incomes, their wages, should not lag more than 30 per cent behind the rise in prices.

At present, unfortunately, we do not have reliable assessments of price movements in the first quarter. The State Statistics Committee in its report to the Supreme Soviet gives a level of 350 percent for January, 138 percent for February, and not less than 138 percent for March. As a result it turns out that in the first quarter it is somewhere about 660 percent. Can one trust these figures or not? Well, these are the only official figures, one can say different things about them, but they come from an organization which is subordinate to the Supreme Soviet.

We proceed on the basis that in this first quarter pensions have risen about threefold since December, the wages of workers paid from budget sources by 2.8 times, and, naturally, the differences are obvious. Therefore, on the basis of the official data for price rises in the first quarter, we propose at least to reach a correlation whereby this difference should not be more than one third. Consequently we proposed to introduce from the second quarter a new minimum wage of 750 rubles. If we get other figures we shall amend this. [passage omitted] Our estimates show, taking account of the differences between workers and pensioners, that the minimum pension should be 650 rubles. [passage omitted]

Economic Reformer Eyes 'Social Factor' Mistake

PM2503085592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p2

[Interview with Professor Yevgeniy Yasin, "one of the authors of the '500 Days' Program," by V. Prokhvatilov; place and date not given: "Prices Will Double or Treble"]

[Text] The corridors of politics are abuzz with gossip: Doctor of Economic Sciences Yevgeniy Yasin has been appointed the government's official spokesman in parliament. Just yesterday this would have been unthinkable because Yasin, generally believed to be one of Russia's top five analysts, was fundamentally opposed to attempts to begin reforms in isolation—in other words, in the Russian Federation alone. He was involved in all the economic developments initiated by the Ryzhkov and Silayev governments.

He was head of a department in Abalkin's commission but resigned when Pavlov became prime minister, forgoing numerous benefits in the process (such as state insurance worth $25,000, for example). He was actively involved in drafting the "500 Days" Program but privately admitted that implementing it was virtually impossible, because of the bad political climate: "If Yavlinskiy were to become prime minister today, Kurginyan would be in power tomorrow." Ye. Yasin is now general director of the Economic Policy Directorate of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

So, what prompted him to come to the government's rescue at a time when the "working people's spring offensive" is at its height?

[Yasin] I could not be a bystander any longer. Neither I nor anyone else can reverse the course of history. So we must combine our efforts and help the government to avoid catastrophe on the path we are now taking. The majority of political forces have distanced themselves from the Gaydar team, so as not to have to bear the responsibility for its actions. The government is now politically isolated. The right and left wing opposition have united in their criticism of Gaydar. The democrats are bogged down in discord, forgetting that Gaydar's demise would signal defeat for democratic forces. The democrats must unite—in action, not in words. We must help the government in its precise choice of real measures, because now even the slightest mistake could lead to catastrophe. In fact, it is inevitable if the government fanatically tightens the screws in its attempts to achieve a deficit-free budget. If output falls by more than 10-15 percent this year, we will see the collapse of the economy and, in the political sphere, the collapse of the Commonwealth and the disintegration of Russia.

[Prokhvatilov] Gaydar intends to free the price of oil, and also of bread and milk. What is the purpose of this measure, and what could its consequences be?

[Yasin] Freeing energy prices will reduce domestic oil consumption by 10-15 percent and make it possible to double petroleum exports. We need to do this in order to buy imported raw materials and resources. Without them, many of our plants (tobacco and chocolate factories, for example) will simply grind to a halt.

That will cause a general rise in all other prices, food prices included. If we were to keep the prices of some goods low, they—bread and milk, in other words—would simply disappear from the shelves. This is already happening.

[Prokhvatilov] Can you tell us how much prices are going to go up this year?

[Yasin] The government claims that prices will rise by no more than 50-75 percent. But, in my opinion, after general liberalization prices will rise and settle at a level two or three times higher than they are now. But that does not mean that our lives will become three times more difficult. After all, price rises will be accompanied by wage and pension indexation.

[Prokhvatilov] The unemployed will probably suffer most of all. According to the forecasts, there could be a considerable number of people out of work: probably hundreds of thousands.

[Yasin] Directors of enterprises telephone me every day, so I have quite accurate information about the situation in industry. I can say with a large measure of confidence that there will not be significant unemployment this year. Directors have an interest in a close alliance with labor collectives and will do their utmost to avoid dismissing workers.

[Prokhvatilov] But are there really any other measures apart from laying off workers in conditions of a serious reduction in output? Generally speaking, would it not be better to prevent a slump?

[Yasin] Each slump is different from the next. So far, we have seen a reduction in the output of consumer goods. That is definitely bad. But a slump in arms production or in machine building producing inferior machinery—and that is the kind of slump we are expecting this spring—cannot be totally negative. We really must get down to converting the defense industry. Enterprises in the military-industrial complex now have a powerful incentive to start producing civilian goods. Those unable to beat their swords into plowshares will go to the wall.

[Prokhvatilov] You cannot even get money you have earned out of the present government—everything disappears in taxes....

[Yasin] I think that the Russian leadership has now realized its main mistake: the fact that it disregarded the social factor when attempting to begin reforms and did not first arouse the interest of broad strata of the population.

Economic Woes, Market Solutions Viewed

PM2503102592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Russian Federation Ministry of Science "Istinna" Center department for expert forecast studies: "Time for Government To Correct Its Course"]

[Text] A Russian Government memorandum on economic policy sent to the IMF is to all appearances the cabinet's plan of action for 1992. An analysis of the document makes it possible to draw the following conclusions.

The problem of inflation is advanced to the fore. That reflects the situation which had taken shape in the economy by the start of the year. Without reducing and stabilizing the rate of inflation, the solution of other macroeconomic questions has proved impossible. That is why the transfer of inflation to an open regime and the course toward deregulating prices and markets is correct. There is justification for the intention to toughen financial restrictions still further and to impart a long-term anti-inflation orientation to fiscal and monetary policy, social protection policy, and incomes policy. There is a clear line toward the stabilization of the ruble's exchange rate and its transition to convertibility.

But the weaknesses of the government program are just as clear to see. The cabinet believes that investment activity, the level of production, and, most importantly, the course of its structural perestroyka will be maintained mainly by market mechanisms and the indirect effects of macroeconomic stabilization. That is why the tasks of the administration itself in this field are only vaguely formulated ("maximum possible resistance to the decline of production"). What mechanisms will ensure "resistance" is unclear.

This level of state activity is obviously insufficient, because the greatest fears are in fact generated by the decline of production with the conservation of its structure. The loss of control over taxes is also likely. This casts doubt on the possibility of financial stabilization—a reduction of the inflation level to 1-3 percent in the fourth quarter with the simultaneous elimination of the budget deficit. Obviously we will not succeed in achieving budgetary equilibrium by the end of the year. If the government insists on having its way this will result in losses, including losses for the budget.

The rating of the problem of demonopolizing the Russian economy has been undeservedly reduced and the quality of its study seems poor. The position of the government is unconvincing, rejecting the preemptive regulation of prices for the goods and services of monopolists and orienting itself toward the combined effect of the structural elasticity of prices and the implementation

of antimonopoly laws and a program to promote competition. This orientation is fraught with the danger of a reduction in production and unpleasant fall-out in the social sphere.

The same applies to privatization. It remains incomprehensible what the government intends to undertake with regard to forming mechanisms for privatization and its infrastructure.

The administration's attitude toward various means of covering the budget deficit is unclear. The planned nature of collaboration with the Central Bank of Russia, which to a considerable degree determines the effectiveness of anti-inflation monetary policy, has not been specified.

Finally, one cannot see whether there are any other avenues of foreign economic policy apart from currency regulation.

The shortcomings of the government program do not of course mean that the cabinet's course as a whole should be questioned. Efforts at the economy's financial stabilization deserve all-around support and insofar as restrictions in the field of fiscal and monetary policy will produce results only in the long term, they must be implemented with the utmost consistency. The government would do well to operate in the manner of a tunneling team: advancing financial restrictions as long as the sociopolitical situation permits; shoring up what has been achieved, adapting producers and consumers, switching on shock absorbers, resolving long-term problems, and taking a new step forward.

At the same time the government has still far from fully occupied the area for regulation measured off for it by the market-type economy. The time has come to correct its course. And there are obvious reserves for that.

Of course, the uncertainty of the situation is exceptionally high but nonetheless an effective policy cannot fail to consider long-term trends. We need at least assessments of the remote consequences of our own decisions—strategic guidelines for the next two to three years.

The Russian economy must undoubtedly stand on the same market foundations as any other. But it will probably retain its uniqueness, determined by both traditions and distortions and new formations of recent decades. Specific features are already appearing in spontaneous forms, accompanied by considerable losses. The government must find its place in the formation of a Russian market economy model, which in principle is compatible with the aims of macroeconomic stabilization. That will enhance the results of policy and help to achieve civil consensus and the consolidation of society.

There is an urgent need for the systemic reform of central state structures responsible for making economic decisions. It is essential to change their functions. It is also necessary to determine the economic rights of the local organs of power, the procedure for collaboration between unions of entrepreneurs and trade unions, and so forth.

It is time to embark on the formation of a competitive environment. The introduction of a program to promote competition has for some reason been deferred until June this year, which means a six-month delay with regard to the liberalization of prices. The government should immediately introduce where possible a regime close to free enterprise and ensure the stability of the rules for regulating business. We must stop dividing business structures into "clean" and "unclean" (of nomenklatura origin) and be guided only by the legal norms operating today. Antimonopoly preventive measures are required (control over mergers), as is a concessions regime for natural monopolies, the flexible regulation of prices for other monopolists and their easing as there is a change in the status of the market, and the extension of antimonopoly legislation to nonstate financial formations and also to those which have arisen as a result of nomenklatura privatization.

The situation prompts us to implement active state encouragement of investments and production. That means we need a long-term structural policy backed up by state targeted programs, tax concessions, and other means. A special policy to attract direct foreign investments into Russia is expedient.

As for ways of covering the budget deficit, it would be worth placing the largest possible volumes of debt commitments in business structures within the country and abroad.

Decisions on Industry, Steel Production Eyed

PM2503102892 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Mar 92 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed roundup: "The Government Resolves"]

[Excerpts] **What Are You Going To Feed Us On, Committee?**

The Russian Federation Government has defined the tasks of the Committee for the Food and Processing Industry under the republic Ministry of Agriculture. The document stresses that the committee is the organ of state management of the food, meat, dairy, fruit and vegetable, and other agricultural raw material processing sectors. Among other things it has been made responsible for developing market relations and new management methods aimed at providing the population with a stable supply of food products. The committee will also coordinate foreign economic ties and the organization of international scientific and technical cooperation in the sphere of the food and processing industry, and will promote the development of enterprise. One of the committee's most important functions is to organize the development and creation of new types of machinery

and technologies, including within the framework of implementing programs for the conversion of defense sectors. [passage omitted]

Steel for State Needs

With the aim of saving currency assets and supplying Russian enterprises with cold-rolled sheet steel, government ordinance No. 465 (11 March 1992) instructs the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine to guarantee delivery this year of 600,000-680,000 tonnes of hot-rolled coils of sheet steel to Germany, Italy, and Romania so that 300,000-340,000 tonnes of cold-rolled steel can be produced from them. The Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and Ministry of Trade and Material Resources have been charged with issuing a license and concluding contracts, and the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy with allocating a quota. At the same time the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine is released from the compulsory sale of part of its currency earnings and customs duties. The costs of the re-rolling service and the payments due to the combine will be met from the assets from the deliveries of hot-rolled coils. The Ministry of Trade and Material Resources will channel the steel received into the production of agricultural machinery, automobiles, consumer goods, and construction industry products.

Budget Expenditures for First Quarter Outlined

LD2403184592 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Two months after the endorsement by parliament of the Russian budget, the Russian Government begins making payments from the budget for the first quarter of this year, only one week away from the expiry of the first quarter.

This follows from the decree on measures for the implementation of the Russian Federation's law "On the Russian Federation's Budget for the First Quarter of 1992" that was endorsed by Russian parliament on January 24.

The budget envisages expenditures amounting to 420.5 billion roubles, proceeding from expected revenues of the same amount. Thus the government is still striving to have a deficit-free budget.

Under the current decree, 7,813,600 thousand roubles will be transferred to the pension fund in the first quarter to be used for the payment of state pensions and allowances to servicemen and their families, the payment of social pensions and child allowances.

1.6 billion roubles is allocated for the development of farmer economies, "The Russian Farmer" Foundation. 500 million roubles is allocated for financing the economic and cultural development of ethnic minorities of the north.

As to financing the conversion of war industry facilities to civilian uses, a number of agencies are authorised by the decree to establish the procedure of granting credits for these purposes and terms of credits.

No less than 15 billion roubles is expected to be received before the end of the year through the issuing of bonds of the state republican domestic loan.

Commercial Banks Appeal Against Money Limit

PM2503093592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Ivan Zhagel: "Money: Yesterday No Cash, Today No Non-Cash"]

[Text] Will half our enterprises shut down in two months' time or will they be given the chance, after all, to continue operating—that was the question raised at the news conference of the Association of Russian Banks [ARB] and the Moscow Banking Union held on 20 March.

The problem is that now, owing to the drastic unfreezing of prices, there is not just a shortage of cash but also a shortage of money employed in non-cash circulation. For this reason, it was said at the news conference, reciprocal nonpayments between enterprises amount as of now to 650 billion rubles [R]. If the situation continues developing in the same direction, barter will finally become part and parcel of everyday life. And those unable to obtain anything in exchange for their goods will simply cease operating.

Speakers said that a larger money supply would be in keeping with higher prices. Moreover, additional resources will be necessary to finance privatization, the redemption of land, and support for small enterprises. The commercial banks' representatives therefore consider that at least R2.5 trillion in additional cash should be issued in 1992. And this decision must be made right now—it will be too late in a few months' time, as the economy will have foundered through lack of money.

However, the Central Bank of Russia intends to issue only R500 billion this year. It hopes, it was pointed out at the news conference, to strengthen the ruble through fiscal measures, but this is impossible unless industry operates normally, and devotion to classic "monetary" policy here runs manifestly at variance with life. The ARB has therefore sent a special petition to the Supreme Soviet.

The appeal says that, if parliament approves the program for credit and monetary policy submitted by the Central Bank of Russia, it will simply have no one with whom to implement the policy. If they do not receive adequate credit resources, enterprises will simply be ruined. But the main thing is that they will be unable to mount any competition to foreign investors during the process of privatization and will be sold off cheaply.

Of course, if representatives of the Central Bank of Russia had been at the news conference, they would have

found considerable arguments in defense of their position, the principal one being that it is impossible to strengthen the ruble and consequently stabilize the operation of industry and stop the dollarization of the economy without restricting the issuing of money. However, representatives of the Central Bank had no wish to enter yet again into direct discussion with the commercial banks.

Banking Bodies Comment on Cash Crisis

PM2403120192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Article by Ivan Zhagel: "Will There Be Enough Money for Privatization?"]

[Text] As of today enterprises' reciprocal nonpayments total 650 billion rubles [R]—this alarming sum was cited at the news conference of the Association of Russian Banks and the Moscow Banking Union held on the last working day of the week. The point is that because of the drastic increase in prices, enterprises have simply started to be short of circulating capital to pay for the raw and semifinished materials and subassemblies which they deliver to each other. And there is simply nowhere for them to get the money because of the toughening of the Central Bank of Russia's credit policy.

If the problem of the shortage of circulating capital is aggravated still further, the representatives of the republic's commercial banks stated, then barter will increasingly enter everyday life and those enterprises which are unable to offer anything in exchange for their output will simply come to a standstill. Thus, attempts to strengthen the ruble outside the production sphere will only aggravate the state of the economy as a whole and the monetary system in particular. Blindly following monetarist theory in this case blatantly contradicts the requirements of real life.

The fact of the huge reciprocal nonpayments between enterprises enabled the organizers of the news conference also to raise more broadly the question of the erroneousness of the "fundamental avenues of the monetary and credit policy of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation in 1992" submitted to the Russian Supreme Soviet. In accordance with this document the Central Bank of Russia plans to issue about R500 billion into the economy this year. The figure would seem enormous, after all right now there are about R1 trillion in monetary circulation. But if you consider that the rise in prices now is at least fivefold then the amount of money issued will obviously be inadequate.

In addition in the very near future gigantic funds will be needed to provide money for the process of privatization and perhaps the sale of land into private ownership. And if the banks are unable to issue credits for these purposes, then very important economic reform programs will simply be suffocated. That is why representatives of commercial banks believe that the size of the emission in 1992 should be at least R2.5 trillion.

A special petition in this connection was sent to the Russian Supreme Soviet by the Association of Russian Banks and the Moscow Banking Union.

Well, it is possible to understand the commercial banks' alarm. Although their proposals do not seem unequivocally fair either. In particular the question arises: Will the R2.5 trillion emission not lead to such inflation that banks will completely lose interest in long-term credit and in financing the structural perestroyka of industry?

The dangers of headlong inflation could be avoided if the trillions issued went into privatization, into boosting production, and not into financing trade operations. But for that the relevant banking infrastructure is needed—mortgage, investments, and specialized agricultural banks. So far they do not exist and the additional injection of money into the economy should therefore be performed very cautiously.

'Growing Alarm' Over Defense Ministry Plans

LD2403230192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] The Russian president's decree on setting up a Defense Ministry in our Federation has given risen to a reaction that is by no means unequivocal among those who are directly connected with the army and navy. Denis Gurinskiy reports on the reaction to the decision in the Leningrad Military District and at the Leningrad naval base.

[Gurinskiy] In its official comment the command of the troops of the Leningrad Military District and Leningrad naval base welcomed the Russian president's initiative to form the Russian Defense Ministry and to head it himself. General Sergey Seleznev, commander of the troops of Leningrad Military District, and Admiral Valentin Selivanov, commander of the Leningrad naval base, described President Yeltsin's decision as a very constructive one, signaling the rapid adoption of a Russian military doctrine and enabling the Russian leadership to direct its attention to a greater extent to settling the legal and socioeconomic status of servicemen stationed in Russia. These commanders also called on their subordinates to give all-round assistance to Boris Yeltsin in his attempts to formulate and implement Russia's new military-strategic priorities.

Nevertheless, according to unofficial information, the top brass in the staffs of the Leningrad Military District and the Leningrad naval base are by no means in complete sympathy with Boris Yeltsin's actions in the military sphere.

General Venedikt Fedorov, deputy chief of the St. Petersburg Strategic Air Defense staff, said in an interview to a Radio Rossii correspondent that, even though the majority of the officers in the strategic subunits based in the region believe that Yeltsin's order to establish a Russian Defense Ministry is sensible, there is growing alarm over the probability of the establishment

of a Russian—rather than union—totalitarianism over the army and navy. Venedikt Fedorov himself assesses the decree on the Russian Defense Ministry as fully commensurate with the situation and positive.

Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, also approves Yeltsin's decision to set up a Russian Defense Ministry. But in doing so he is also fighting to immediately start work on forming the Russian armed forces.

Pavlov Letter Cites 'Flagrant' Law Violations

PM2403143992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 1

[Open letter to Russian Federation General Prosecutor V.G. Stepankov from Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, defendant in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, under "Letters to People's Newspaper" rubric: "Having Familiarized Myself With the 'Case...'"]

[Text] Having been unlawfully arrested in respect of the fabricated so-called case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE], I am forced today to petition you through the mass media, as I am, unfortunately, left with no other means of obtaining from you a reply that is to the point.

You and your associates constantly put out interviews and reports of various kinds. Not only have you deprived me of this opportunity but I cannot even secure from the investigation an intelligible reply to repeated requests to **concretize**the charge that has been laid, i.e. to fulfill that which you are obliged to do in accordance with the law of criminal procedure.

In point of fact you are working methodically and purposefully toward making us seek proof of our own innocence. I can say in advance that for me this is a hopeless task, because, not having a specific charge, I do not know against which specific facts and circumstances we must defend ourselves.

Particularly as now, having finally secured the possibility of familiarizing myself with the substance of the so-called case of the SCSE, I have definitively seen for myself that the investigation as a whole has been conducted right from the start with most flagrant violations of the law of criminal procedure, as I have constantly declared.

I have always told the investigation, and I openly declare for everyone today, that I do not acknowledge and never have acknowledged the absurd charges laid against me—either "of betraying the motherland" or, now, "of plotting with a view to seizing power."

I find it hard to understand the logic and the mentality of people who are capable of subscribing to such a charge. Despite the fact that I was declared a criminal not only prior to a trial but also prior to a charge being laid, I am firmly confident that truth and justice will triumph in the end.

At the same time there are questions that are still more important and urgent for me than the acknowledgment of my innocence: There is the question of honor and dignity. The investigation lays the charge that our actions were dictated by disagreement with President M.S. Gorbachev's position, in which we perceived the inevitable disintegration of the USSR, the further worsening of the country's economic and political position, the impoverishment of the people, a threat of hunger and cold, and also "a threat to personal well-being."

I have never disputed the fact that my actions were dictated by the desire to prevent the state's demise and ruin, and I do not see this as a crime before the people and **the motherland**].

But as for "personal well-being," I have never separated it and do not separate it from our country and our people.

If you, Citizen Stepankov, as the Russian Federation's present general prosecutor, accuse me of such a threat to personal well-being, then I lawfully demand just one thing—that you declare this at least once, but in public.

I am forced to address this to you through the press because over the past six months I have not managed to receive in the manner prescribed by law a reply to a single one of my appeals relating to the question of just what is understood by "threat to personal well-being."

The investigation has established—and you as general prosecutor know this better than anyone—my desire and readiness, long before the August events, to leave the high post that I held.

President M.S. Gorbachev was also perfectly well aware of that.

I categorically insist on the exclusion of the absurd allegation of a mythical "threat to my personal well-being."

I put this request to you: Find the courage within yourself and preserve my and your human dignity.

[Signed] V.S. Pavlov

Supreme Soviet

Preamble, First Part of Constitution Adopted

LD2503132292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Vera Shchelkunova from the 25 March session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation]

[Text] Starting today, and until the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, the Supreme Soviet will devote each morning to a detailed examination of the draft of the new Constitution. This draft was signed today by Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov for publication and nationwide discussion. It will probably be in tomorrow's newspapers.

Today the deputies adopted the preamble and the first part of this document as a basis, after a lengthy and detailed discussion. The principles proclaimed in this section make up the basis of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation, so the provisions of the following sections cannot run counter to it. Here are a few of these principles:

The Russian Federation is a sovereign, law-governed, democratic, federal, and social state.

The Russian Federation possesses supreme power with regard to its territory, determines and pursues domestic and foreign policy, and adopts the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which has supremacy over its territory.

Man, his life and health, honor, and dignity; personal inviolability and safety; and other rights and freedoms are the highest values in the Russian Federation.

All laws must be published. Unpublished laws are not subject to enforcement, the draft Constitution stresses.

As regards the federal system, it is defined as follows:

The state territorial system of the Russian Federation is based on the principle of federalism.

The foundations of the legal status of republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs are established and guaranteed by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

The constitutions of the republics and the charters [ustavy] of krays and oblasts cannot run counter to the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

It goes without saying that I have not enumerated everything. I stress: Today this main section of the fundamental law was approved by the Supreme Soviet, but the right to adopt the Constitution belongs to the Congress of People's Deputies.

I also remind you that this draft drawn up by the Constitutional Commission is not the only one: It is known that an alternative draft is also being drawn up. It is possible that it will be submitted at the Congress of Citizens of Russia, which is proposed to be held in Moscow literally on the eve of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.

Controversy Continues Over Economic Reforms

LD2403213992 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Academician Nikolay Petrakov called on the Russian Government to introduce considerable changes in its economic policy at today's parliamentary debates on reform problems.

He stressed the "attempt to follow the Polish experience of 'shock therapy' was doomed to failure".

Petrakov called on the government to begin preparations for the money reform. "It is absurd that one state - Russia - provides 14 other states with banknotes. We have already had irreplaceable losses because of this," he said.

Petrakov has also suggested to freeze wages and salaries for a few months in order to overcome the most acute economic crisis. He called for a more decisive agrarian reform.

The academician believes the Russian president should give up the combined post of the government head.

Discussion participants made lots of critical remarks. For instance, academician Oleg Bogomolov said the government has not analysed the experience of Hungary and China.

Russian Minister of the Economy Andrey Nechayev touched upon the conversion problem. He said it has much of forced character, but added "we had to begin the sweeping conversion."

Nechayev negatively assessed the proposal of Petrakov to freeze wages and salaries, as well as the prices. "We have done this for the past 60 years, and the result is well-known," he said.

To leave wages and salaries as they are means to camouflage the inflation processes. In his words, the population's living standards have reduced by 30-40 per cent of the first months of the economic reform.

First Vice Premier of the Russian Government Yegor Gaydar explained the slow privatization with the fact that "immediate part by part removal of property will lead to social injustice and provoke storm of the population's indignation."

Gaydar Defends 'Slow Process'

LD2403214792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, first deputy premier of the Russian Federation Government, addressed parliamentary hearings on the questions of economic policy on 24 March. Commenting on the remarks that were voiced, he noted that the government was forced to go over from hidden inflation to open inflation. This transition, in his words,

could be taking place against the extremely difficult backdrop of hyperinflation. However, the government's liberalizing measures were supplemented by stabilizing measures—the strict budgetary policies. As a result, the first deputy premier stressed, the budget deficit was removed during the first two months of this year.

Gaydar agreed with academician Nikolay Petrakov that there is now no need to have such strict budgetary policies. In Yegor Gaydar's words, the slow process of privatization is explained by the fact that if property is dispersed all at once, it will lead to social injustice and give rise to a storm of indignation among the population.

Draft Privatization Program 'Gaining Momentum'

LD2403152892 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Novikov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The draft program for privatizing state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation in 1992 was approved today in the Kremlin by a joint meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet and collegium of the government. It has been decided to submit the draft for endorsement by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

The program provides for the opening of special privatization accounts in the fourth quarter of this year. The participation of work collectives in the process of privatization is to be stimulated by substantial preferences. Direct sale to private owners of state property will be limited to the maximum, because this engenders corruption and various abuses.

The government expects to sell approximately 70-80 billion rubles of state property in 1992 and also to hand over gratis to workers of state enterprises about 150-200 billion rubles worth of shares. The total amount of privatized property may reach 12-20 per cent of the cost of the basic funds by the end of the year. Chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property Anatoliy Chubays believes 1992 will see the privatization of "small-scale establishments" first and foremost.

He said that only 70 enterprises belonged to private owners and 922—to collective on January 1, 1992. As many as 11,000 privatization applications were filed by March 15, showing that the process was gaining momentum, Chabays said.

Monetary System, Ruble Uses Examined

PM2403161592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Mikhail Berger: "Law on Monetary System Being Prepared"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent the draft law "On the Monetary System of the Russian Federation" to the commissions and committees of parliament for examination.

It follows from the text of the draft disseminated by the Economic News Agency that what is meant by the Russian Federation's monetary system is the official monetary unit, the money emission procedure, the state organ of money-credit and currency regulation, and the procedure for conducting cash operations. The draft confirms that the official monetary unit of the Russian Federation is the ruble consisting of 100 kopeks, but, as was the case before, its official content in gold is not laid down.

Once again a new legislative act proposes proclaiming the ruble the sole legitimate means of payment in any transactions on the territory of Russia without any restrictions. It would be interesting to know what Aeroflot or the Ministry of Railways, which sell tickets for trips abroad, think about this. Analogous provisions on the status of the ruble were also contained in laws which have already been adopted (on the Central Bank, on banking activity) and in presidential decrees which have already been issued.

The draft contains another correct restriction, but one that will be difficult to realize: It is forbidden to put other monetary units or money surrogates into circulation. Such surrogates will inevitably arise under conditions of a cash shortage, given the state of money circulation.

The draft prohibits the use of credit emission to finance the state budget deficit. A very important desire, but one that is equally difficult to fulfill. The Central Bank is also made responsible for stabilizing the ruble's purchasing power, and the draft law as a whole considerably adds to the Central Bank's competence—which is also fair but gives rise to the question: Why cannot all this be a constituent part of the law on the Central Bank?

Some bankers, while sharing the justice of many of the draft's articles, at the same time fear that its adoption in its present wording could substantially limit the activities of commercial banks. Sergey Rodionov, chairman of the board of the "Menatep" Joint-Stock Commercial Investment Bank for Scientific and Technical Progress, believes that making the Central Bank responsible for all interbank transactions will result in the Central Bank's being able to block the accounts of any commercial bank at its own discretion without a decision from a court. In his opinion, such a rigid tying of commercial banks' transactions to the Central Bank runs counter to world practice and will not promote investment activity, which is now falling off rapidly.

Regional Affairs

Dudayev Threatens War To Defend Sovereignty

LD2503093592 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev blasted Russian authorities claiming they have been keeping a blockade of his North Caucasian republic for a year. In an interview with the "MOSCOW NEWS" weekly, published on Wednesday [25 March], he threatened to use "extreme measures" to protect the sovereignty of the Chechen Republic.

The planned discussion at a Congress of Russian People's Deputies of a lawbill on creating an Ingush and a Chechen republic inside Russia which is scheduled for April 6 "is a step towards an incurable confrontation", according to Dudayev. "That means war. We would never yield our land", he warned. Ingushetia and Chechenia were united in one autonomous republic inside Russia before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

However, the president admitted that if the "centre recognises our right for a choice, Russia would not find a more devoted ally than the Chechen republic".

He also admitted that Chechens seize the apartments belonging to ethnic Russians living in Groznyy, the capital of the Chechen Republic. However, he blamed "entrenched KGB officers and dozens of dispatched terrorists" for heating up tensions.

Dudayev did not deny claims he is connected with local mafia. "It is better to say they (mafia) surrounded me, not that I associated with them...Such is a trait of the transitional period", he said.

Dudayev Forces Said To Have 'Grad' Launchers

LD2503074592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A (?DR-Press) report from Groznyy. On 22 March, Checheniya's parliament adopted a law on peasant and private farm holdings. The transfer of land to private ownership is prohibited from now on. Land will be allocated for temporary use—and only by decision of the village head—and only on a competitive basis.

In the village of Staraya Sunzha, a suburb of Groznyy, a regiment of the people's militia opposed to the Dudayev authorities has been formed.

The Dudayev defense headquarters has purchased three Grad rocket launchers [raketnyye ustanovki grad] in the Far East. According to unconfirmed reports, Dudayev's opposition already has launchers of this type.

An airplane with humanitarian aid that had arrived from Bulgaria was looted by soldiers from the National Guard in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia yesterday.

Chechen Foreign Minister Submits Resignation

LD2503092592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Shamil Beno, Chechen minister of foreign affairs, has submitted his resignation. The reason for this is his disagreement with Dzhakhar Dudayev's position on Russia.

Spokesman Denies Report

LD2503151392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1238 GMT 25 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Groznyi—A spokesman for the foreign ministry of the Chechen Republic denied the report about the resignation of Chechen Foreign Minister Shamil Beno. First Deputy Foreign Minister Ruslan Madiyev told PF [POSTFACTUM] on March 25 that the report that Beno quit his post, which was transmitted by the NEGA News Agency, does not correspond to reality.

According to Madiyev, in conjunction with the difficulties involved in fulfilling departmental functions, primarily the non-recognition of the Chechen Republic by Russia, the issue of the foreign minister's resignation was raised before President Dudayev in the course of the work. However, Beno will continue to fulfill the responsibilities vested with him. Madiyev described arguments that Beno concentrates opposition forces around himself as a fabrication that does not have the real ground.

Tatar President on Political, Defense Agenda

PM2503090392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "M. Shaymiyev Protects Tatarstan's Sovereign Face"]

[Text] Kazan, 23 Mar—President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan believes that the results of the referendum on Tatarstan's state sovereignty, held here on 21 March, will make it possible to preserve the centuries-old friendship of the peoples living in the republic.

Speaking at a news conference for domestic and foreign observers and journalists yesterday, he described as the next political task the conclusion of a treaty with Russia on the principles of delegating powers from below. In the opinion of Mintimer Shaymiyev, there is a possibility of reaching agreement on this before the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, which will be held at the beginning of April. In addition to political and economic ties, Shaymiyev said, this treaty will provide for questions of Tatarstan's international ties.

The president accounted for the fact that more than half the voters in the republic's industrial centers voted against sovereignty by saying that the collectives of the defense plants located there are afraid of remaining isolated from Russian suppliers. In this connection Mintimer Shaymiyev advocated the accelerated fulfillment of the conversion program which is being drawn up jointly with the Russian Government.

Answering a question on how the military draft will be conducted in the future, Mintimer Shaymiyev replied that there is an accord with the command of the Volga-Urals Military District to leave draftees from Tatarstan primarily in this district.

According to the president of Tatarstan, questions of defense and security, as well as the protection of borders, will be delegated to Russia.

As regards the Federal Treaty, Shaymiyev believes that Tatarstan will lose its sovereign face by signing it.

The president denied any assumptions about a seizure of power in the republic by national extremist forces.

Official Results Confirm Sovereignty Approval

LD2503144292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1404 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 25 Mar (TASS)—The final results of the referendum on the state sovereignty of Tatarstan, held on 21 March, have been tallied. The question asked at the referendum is considered adopted, says the official protocol, ratified today by the Central Commission. Of 2,600,297 citizens with the right to vote, 2,134,271 received voting papers. Of 2,132,351 citizens who took part in the voting, 1,309,560 replied "Yes", i.e. 61.4 percent. "No" was said by 794,444 participants in the referendum, which amounts to 37.2 percent of the overal number of those voting. There were 28,851 voting papers which turned out to be invalid. Thus, to the question posed, of the total of those on the electoral role, 50.3 percent replied affirmatively and 30.5 percent negatively.

Tatar Public Center Proposes 'Nonnuclear Zone'

LD2403142392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1211 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Kazan —The military doctrine of the Tatar Public Center envisages immediate withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from the republic's territory and setting up the national guard of Tatarstan.

The chairman of the Tatar Public Center (TPC) republican committee for military issues Rashad Safin unveiled the TPC leadership's military doctrine at his news conference on March 22. According to the doctrine, Tatarstan is proclaimed a non-nuclear zone and a neutral state. The new military doctrine states that all the conscripts in the Republic of Tatarstan must serve on the republican territory, for that purpose special construction battalions, civil defense units and alternative service departments should be formed in addition to the national guard. Conscripts from the Republic of Tatarstan are also allowed to serve in the frontier guard units of the CIS, however, they should be assigned for the areas specially designated for Tatar republican units. The servicemen who refuse to serve in other states are to return to the Republic of Tatarstan for further service in the republican units. Higher military training institutions, which fell under the jurisdiction of Tatarstan are authorized to train personnel for the armies of other countries on a contractual basis.

The Tatar Public Center military doctrine stipulates the transfer of the KGB and interior ministry's troops to the republican jurisdiction. The military inspector under the Tatarstan's president is entrusted with the military command for the transition period. The leaders of the Tatar Public Center believe that Tatarszan as [word indistint] state should not join the military organization of the CIS, confining itself only to the Commonwealth political bodies. Rashad Safin said that the military doctrine was submitted to the president, the government and the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan for consideration.

Caucasus Ethnic Groups Adopt Documents

LD2403121392 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 22 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 22 TASS—Representatives of 16 ethnic groups living in the Caucasus ended their meeting in Vladikavkaz on Sunday [22 March] by adopting several political documents and statements aimed to stabilise the situation in the region.

The two-day meeting focused on the current situation in the north Caucasus, Abkhazia and South Ossetia and discussed the preparation of the second Congress of Representatives of Former Autonomous Republics and Regions seeking statehood.

The participants adopted a resolution on the situation in South Ossetia and ways to ease the tension in the conflict-torn region. They set up a parliamentary commission to hold talks representatives of South Ossetia and the Georgian provisional government to settle relations between Ossetia and Georgia. [sentence as received]

The delegates also voted to create a defence committee, joint armed forces and independent periodicals in the region.

Armed Forces Structure Viewed

PM2303120592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of ITAR-TASS and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports: "North Caucasus 'Blue Helmets'"]

[Text] The sixth session of the parliament of the Confederation of Caucasus mountain peoples has been held in Vladikavkaz. There were about 20 questions on the agenda. But the main one was the adoption of the provision on the confederation's armed forces. The confederation's armed forces, the provision says, are created to safeguard the confederation's state sovereignty, to resolve interethnic problems peacefully, and to guard citizens' rights and freedom. They will consist of motorized rifle, armored, and artillery subunits and air force and air defense subunits formed in the republics of the North Caucasus. The provision on the armed forces provides for an entire complex of measures for the formation of the military units, their life and daily routine, participation in combat operations, and even pension provision. So far the most important question remains unclear: Who will maintain these armed forces and what will they cost the region's inhabitants?

Caucasians Want End to South Ossetian Shelling

LD2403132192 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 23 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 23 TASS—Caucasian highlanders demanded at a meeting here on Monday [23 March] that Georgia ceases military activities in South Ossetia and lifts the blockade of the administrative centre of Tskhinvali.

A session of the parliament of the Confederation of Caucasian Highlanders sent a telegram to the Georgian Government which also demands guarantees for a safe return home of some 100,000 South Ossetian refugees. A parliamentary commission was formed at the session to hold talks with representatives of South Ossetia and Georgia.

Leaders of Tersk Cossacks also held a close-door meeting in the capital of North Ossetia. They adopted a statement expressing the hope that positive transformations in Georgia will bring peace and reconciliation to South Ossetia.

According to reports from the press centre of the South Ossetian information committee, it was relatively quiet in the area on Sunday night.

Komi Oil Workers Launch Warning Strike

LD2503100592 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 25 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Usinsk, the Russian Komi Republic March 25 TASS—The socio-political situation in the Russian city of Usinsk, the centre of Russian oil industry in the Komi republic, has deteriorated as striking oil workers gained support of other labour groups.

The strike committee decided to hold a mass meeting in the centre of the city launching a one-hour warning strike supported by over 50 labour collectives.

The local oil workers, who have been on strike, received a telegram on Monday [23 March] from Deputy Chairman of the Russian Government Aleksandr Shokhin, claimimg a six-member commission to settle labour disputes was to arrive in Usinsk to look into the coal miners' demands. Local oil workers suspended the strike pending the arrival of the delegation.

However, only two envoys of the Russian Government arrived in Usinsk Tuesday [24 March] instead of the promised six delegates, including representatives of the government, entrepreneurs and trade unions.

The coal miners' strike committee reacted indignantly when it found out the envoys were not empowered to solve the problems of the Usinsk oil workers and, in an extraordinary session, decided to hold the town meeting.

The representatives of the strike committee told ITAR-TASS they do not rule out the possibility of extending the strike, since the Russian Government does not pay enough attention to coal miners' problems and is slow to resolve the conflict. In the next few days the development of many oil wells and the operation of enterprises in Usinsk may be suspended.

Volgodonsk Transport Workers Strike on 23 Mar

LD2403141492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1211 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Volgodonsk [dateline as received]—The head of the city trolley-bus board Gennady Beznoschenko told PF [POSTFACTUM] that 165 trolley-bus drivers and 245 service workers were on strike. They demand a fivefold increase in wages, the subsidies for the city electric transport from the city budget and social benefits.

German Region Plans in Saratov Oblast Begin

PM2403100092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Valentina Nikolayeva: "Saratov: Borders of German Region Discussed"]

[Text] Saratov Oblast—The practical work of creating the first German national region has begun in Saratov Oblast.

A few days before the publication of the Russian president's decree on the formation of a German national region on the territory of Saratov Oblast, at Sovkhoz No. 23 in the Volga-Ural Military District, which is in Engelsskiy Rayon, an assembly of the settlement's citizens gathered. It decided to set up here a German national rural soviet of peoples' deputies—Russia's first, incidentally.

More than 60 percent of the residents of this settlement are Germans. Many of them came here, to the territory of the former Volga republic, from Kazakhstan seven years ago.

It is this settlement, the oblast administration thinks, that may become the basis of the new region. What is more, carrying out the president's decree, the ispolkom [executive committee] of the neighboring Marksovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies allocated from reserve stock 28,000 hectares of land adjacent to the sovkhoz—for a joint Russian-German project for the development of private farming. This project is being prepared by the "Nadezhda" economic and commercial association in cooperation with the German society for aid to Germans abroad. Incidentally, K. Schlamelcher, the society's director, who recently visited the oblast, signed a draft agreement with the administration on material aid for the future region.

The special organizational committee tasked with setting up the German national region must consider all these practical suggestions "from below" and formulate an action program.

Press Treatment of Kaliningrad Oblast Eyed

PM2403103592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 3

[Captain Second Rank V. Gromak report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "The Resettlement of Germans Has Taken Place Only on Television. The Oblast Is Not Ready for It"]

[Text] Kaliningrad—Recently the press and television have been devoting close attention to Russia's westernmost oblast—Kaliningrad Oblast—and the "Yantar" free economic zone being set up here. But news reports in many cases bear a superficial, unobjective character. This is provoking unhealthy passions among the population. Thus, for example, on 22 March, and later on the 23rd, Russian television, citing Western publications, carried a report that the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration is ready to settle the question of the resettlement of 200,000 Russian Germans on its territory, and to create a German autonomous entity.

Professor Yuriy Matochkin, head of the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration, rejected this report in a statement to the press. Replying to a question about where the figure of 200,000 had come from, the head of the administration noted that he had had occasion to hear this figure recently from foreign correspondents arriving in Kaliningrad. As for the oblast, it will not be able to receive this number of people.

Yekaterinburg Movement Wants Governor's Ouster

LD2403121292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1216 GMT 22 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—Demokraticheskii Vybor (Democratic Choice), a social movement in the city of Yekaterinburg, believes it is impermissible for the region to be governed by the regional chief, Eduard Rossel, and his corrupt team, and demands his resignation.

The movement's appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, approved on March 21 at a meeting of the Democratic Choice 's coordinating council and containing a demand for the president's appointee—Governor Eduard Rossel—to resign, also underscores that the Rossel team, having its roots in the top executive and party echelons, has outlived its day and, therefore, is hampering radical reforms. Tamara Alayba, chairwoman of the movement's coordinating council, told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the democrats, who were actively opposed to Rossel's appointment to the post of governor, stopped their protest after Rossel got the job as a show of confidence in Boris Yeltsin, but not in Rossel. Renewed anti- Rossel protests were caused by reports of Rossel's abuse of power, including the diversion of 8 million marks worth of humanitarian aid from Germany, as well as reports of the governor building a country house in a prestigious area, etc., Ms. Alayba said.

Angarsk Defense Plant Diversifies

PM2403123992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report by V. Kodkin, Yu. Kostomarov]

[Text] [Kodkin] Impatiently waiting for a law on conversion, the Angarsk Electro-Mechanical Plant has started its own conversion. Three million rubles [R] from the collective's own shares have been put into making goods that are urgently needed today—computers for schools and vocational and technical colleges, electric waffle makers, irons of a new design, lamps, heaters—these are all goods that make up the plant's basic output. And on top of that it is producing furniture in huge workshops built for the defense sector. Future plans include vehicle assembly and many other things. Will these plans be realized?

[A.Shevchenko, plant director] Of course this is really unfair. If the government wants to saturate the market, it should think first and foremost about making financial and tax concessions available to enterprises that develop such output.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Concerned Over CIS Effectiveness

LD2503051592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is concerned about the fact that many of the decisions agreed in the CIS are not being implemented. Speaking on 24 March in the Politics program of the Ostankino TV company, he noted that the Commonwealth is still not providing actual results. New effective interstate formations can become a reality if each state implements all the decisions that are being adopted, Leonid Kravchuk stressed. The Ukrainian president thinks that of late, from the start of the so called perestroyka, not a single document adopted by the former president, by the former bodies of authority of the former Union—now the Commonwealth—is being implemented. If order is not introduced into this issue, then nothing will come out of our venture.

More on Kravchuk, Mitterrand, Bush Conversations

MK2403140392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under the "Ukraine" rubric: "Bush and Mitterrand Got Firsthand Information. Leonid Kravchuk Held Telephone Conversations With the French and U.S. Presidents"]

[Text] Kravchuk informed his colleagues about the results of the CIS heads of state meeting in Kiev and reported that it had only been possible to adopt documents relating to the military sphere on which initial agreement had already been reached in Minsk. A memorandum on dividing up the former USSR's foreign debts was also signed whereby Ukraine and Russia have assumed joint liability for servicing them. According to Kravchuk, this is the main achievement of the Kiev meeting.

However, the principal military documents, according to Kravchuk, were the ones that finally defined the status and principles of the functioning of the Joint Armed Forces of those CIS countries that have expressed an interest in having such forces. Ukraine, however, will build its own armed forces.

Francois Mitterrand asked how the Commonwealth countries intend to cooperate on settling internal conflicts, in particular the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Leonid Kravchuk answered that this issue had been raised by the heads of the CIS countries and a mechanism for averting and settling such conflicts had even been formulated. However, not all of Ukraine's questions and proposals had met with due support and understanding in this context. Thus, for example, L. Kravchuk said that Ukraine's version of the agreement on satisfying the demands and safeguarding the rights of deported peoples was not adopted and the document has not been signed. From L. Kravchuk's remarks just before the Kiev meeting it was not hard to surmise what exactly Kiev was proposing: Material expenditure to assist the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, for example, should be borne both by Ukraine, which would accept these people, and by the states on whose territory the deported people are currently living.

Neither was the agreement on dividing former USSR state property signed; according to Kravchuk, this was blocked by Russia. A spokesman for the Kazakh president's press service also spoke about this during the meeting of heads of CIS countries. He told journalists that B. Yeltsin had not consented to former USSR property located on republics' territory passing into the ownership of these republics and had proposed that the process of the creation of the property be analyzed—taking 1917 as a starting date—with a view to clarifying who made the investments, where these were directed, and how much was invested.

U.S. President George Bush asked Leonid Kravchuk to explain Ukraine's position on removing tactical nuclear weapons from its territory before the end of July 1992, noting that in the present critical situation prevailing in the Commonwealth, it is necessary to stick to the commitments that have been assumed. L. Kravchuk stressed once again that Ukraine has not changed its position and is fulfilling its earlier agreement that nuclear weapons should be destroyed with verification by the interested parties. In this respect, in L. Kravchuk's opinion, the Kiev meeting's decision to set up a commission to verify the destruction of the weapons is important. "Ukraine is displaying a very responsible attitude in this matter by its concern not to allow the withdrawal and possible uncontrolled sale of nuclear weapons from its territory. Ukraine is prepared to allow the representatives of other states to participate in the commission's verification," L. Kravchuk stated. He gave the same explanation to Francois Mitterrand, but the French president, while thanking him for his report and supporting Ukraine's actions to ensure verification of the destruction of the weapons, voiced concern over the differences between the CIS countries in military questions.

During his conversation with Bush, questions relating to L. Kravchuk's upcoming visit to the United States were also discussed.

Kravchuk Briefs Canada's Mulroney on CIS Issues

LD2303235692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2155 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Kiev, 24 March TASS—A telephone conversation took place yesterday [23 March] between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The Canadian prime minister was informed about Ukraine's position regarding nuclear weapons, prospects for the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the results of the session in Kiev of leaders of CIS participant states.

Minister on Nuclear Issue, Strategic Forces

PM2403165992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Ukrainian Defense Minister: We Will Tackle the Problems of the Army Our Own Way"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine is not changing its strategic aims in military organizational development, but it does intend to tackle many army problems in a new way. This was the basic idea running through the press conference held by Colonel General K. Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister.

The minister reported that since the well-known statement by republic President Leonid Kravchuk suspending the removal of tactical nuclear weapons not a single nuclear weapon had left Ukraine. Journalists were also informed that nuclear weapons have been removed from the arsenals of units and are being kept at special storage depots under reliable protection. K. Morozov confirmed that, despite the accord, the mechanism enabling the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to block a nonagreed launch of nuclear weapons from the territories of their republics had not yet been implemented.

A detailed reply was given to a question about the situation of the Strategic Forces. After confirming that Ukraine still considers that nuclear weapons should be under unified command, Morozov reported a change in the view of the republic's military department on the status of officers, NCO's, and warrant officers serving in those forces. Those who have sworn the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine will be protected by the law and are under the jurisdiction of the republic.

The problem of the Black Sea Fleet was again raised at the press conference—in particular the question was put as to why this issue was not examined at the meeting of Commonwealth heads of state in Kiev.

For three days experts "crossed swords" in an endeavor to prepare the question for the conference, Morozov replied. Ukraine's position was based upon the interests of the Fleet personnel. We put forward a draft agreement whereby part of the the Black Sea Fleet is transferred to the Strategic Forces before the end of 1994. This, incidentally, is in keeping with the provisions of the Minsk agreements, whereby the list of units to be transferred to the Strategic Forces is determined by the state where they are stationed. But Marshal Shaposhnikov's team turned down our proposal, and the question of the Black Sea Fleet was again removed from discussion.

The minister's information about how work is progressing on the agreement on the maximum level of armed forces and armaments on the European territory of the former USSR proved interesting.

"Ukraine has now proposed six ways of 'allocating' arms on the European territory of the former USSR. They were supported by Belarus, Moldova, and by the repoublics of the Caucasus. Russia adopted a special position and submitted its own draft. Under it three-quarters of all armaments subject to verification [podkontrolnyy] would be withdrawn to Russia. Ukraine and the other republics did not agree with such a division. A difficult situation has taken shape, but it is not so alarming as to be described as dangerous."

Group Established To Monitor Moldovan Borders

LD2303185692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] A working group has been set up, attached to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, to constantly monitor the situation in the oblasts bordering on Moldova. Valeriy Hubenko, chairman of the State Committee for Matters of the Defense of the Ukrainian State Borders, heads the new group.

Situation Tense

LD2403114692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1111 GMT 22 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev—On March 21, in the special regime zone at the Ukrainian-Moldavian border units of the national guard of the Ukraine began to fulfil their duty.

As the press-service of the commander of the Ukraine's National Guard reported, in connection with a sharp rise in the crime rates in regions neighboring the border between the Ukraine and Moldova, units of the National Guard of the Ukraine began to fulfil tasks on defense of the public order together with interior officers in villages of Kotovsk, Krasnye Okny, Frunzovka, Velikaya Mikhailovka and Razdelnaya.

As Major-General Vladimir Mokhov, deputy commander of the National Guards of the Ukraine told PF [POSTFACTUM], the situation in the near-border regions remains tense, but during the last day and night, there were no armed conflicts nor penetration of the armed groups into the Ukraine's territory.

Officer Says Servicemen Want Repatriation

AU2503095792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Oleksandr Slyusarev, chairman of the Baku branch of Officers' Union of Ukraine, refuted the statement by the Russian program Vesti that alleges that 10,000 Ukrainian servicemen expressed a desire to take part in the combat actions in Nagorno-Karabakh on the side of Azerbaijan. He stressed that members of the Officers' Union of Ukraine in this Transcaucasian republic are in favor of repatriation to their homeland for completing their military service within the Armed Forces of Ukraine. If Ukraine is still unable to receive Ukrainian officers, remarked Oleksandr Slyusarev, it is

necessary to conclude an interstate agreement with Azerbaijan and precisely specify in it the officers' status.

Defense Official Appeals to Lvov Oblast Soviet

PM2403164392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 2

[Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy report: "Second 'Friendship Train' Will Probably Leave for Crimea Shortly; Passengers on the First Left Bad Memories"]

[Text] Lvov—Ukrainian mass media are still paying attention to the Black Sea Fleet. That is not surprising either. The Fleet has given the leaders of various political parties no rest. They would like to see it in Ukrainian hands as soon as possible.

That is why Deputy Colonel V. Lazorkin, senior consultant to the Ukrainian defense minister, appealed to a session of the Lvov Oblast Soviet. He stressed that the ministry is performing considerable work to "bring the Black Sea Fleet under Ukrainian jurisdiction." And now all this work has been almost entirely nullified, the colonel said sadly. The so-called "friendship train" from the Lvov area that visited Sevastopol is to blame.

"A group of officers and I arrived in Sevastopol 3 March," V. Lazorkin continued, "and I was surprised at the increase in anti-Ukrainian sentiment among the local population. Officers who were wavering and were willing to swear the oath said indignantly that these extremists would force them and their families out of Ukraine... In our hotel and other parts of Sevastopol we saw women crying and saying that they trusted Ukraine and Kravchuk that they would have a peaceful life, while those who had come from Lvov were all called occupiers. The number of people who signed in favor of holding a referendum in the Crimea has risen drastically and is rapidly approaching danger level following the visit by the 'friendship train' from Lvov. I tell the session that I profoundly condemn the organizers and perpetrators of this 'friendship' mission that brought disorder to Sevastopol and exacerbated to Ukraine's detriment matters that are already hard to resolve at state level."

But the Ukrainian defense minister's senior consultant has not lost hope that "it may be possible to rectify the situation in Sevastopol." He has asked the Lvov Oblast Soviet to immediately plan and prepare a "real friendship train" and involve in it our best creative collectives and a large number of "our well-known sensible Oblast Soviet deputies" to carry out explanatory work among the residents of the Crimea and Sevastopol.

Economic Agreement With Sverdlovsk Region Begins

LD2403133192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] An agreement on trade and economic cooperation for the year 1992 between the Nikolayev and Sverdlovsk regions has come into force. The Russians have delivered to Bug River area 1,000 tons of gasolene and 1,000 cu.m. [cubic meters] of timber, which will help Ukrainian grain growers carry out successfully the spring sowing campaign. In their turn Nikolayev will deliver a shipment of foodstuffs to its partners.

Ukrainian Prisoners in Russia To Be Returned

AU2503094792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Russia demands that Ukraine transfer to its own territory several thousand of its citizens who are held in prisons, as Yuriy Kravchenko, chief of the Administration of Internal Affairs, stated at a meeting with journalists of the Kirovohrad oblast newspaper NARODNE SLOVO. He pointed out that the problem was further aggravated by the fact that there are not enough means for maintaining prison colonies in Ukraine, because of the breakdown of the economy. Nobody needs the products manufactured there and the quality of them is poor. Yuriy Kravchenko sees one of the ways out of the situation in taking land [word indistinct] and organizing there subsidiary farms in order to provide food for the convicts.

Visa Arrangements Have Implications for Russia

PM2503101992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "The Key to the Border Which Is 'Locked'"]

[Text] Tokyo—Sovereign life does not stand still, and following the large and small changes in contacts between once united and now independent parts of the former Union, a series a drastic changes is on the way on "international fronts."

The most recent evidence of these foreign policy innovations is a circular from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry which arrived at the Russian embassy in Tokyo recently.

The circular is brief, taking up 12 lines of telex including the signature. But the substance is far weightier—it is about the introduction of "national visa procedures" on the territory of Ukraine, whereby entry into the republic will be prohibited without a Ukrainian visa. Only for foreigners, though, at the moment.

The text of the document, signed by P.D. Sardachuk, chief of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry Consular Administration, says: "Please advise foreign citizens applying to you that visas for entry to Ukraine will be drawn up by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry consular center at Borispol Airport (Kiev), the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry mission in Odessa or at international entry points in Shegini, Mostiska, Uzhgorod, Chop, Porubnoye, Vadul-Siret, Yalta, Lvov airport, and Simferopol

airport. Visas drawn up after 10 March by other countries' missions will be deemed invalid for visits to Ukraine."

As the reader has probably guessed, "other countries" means in this case above all Russia, whose mission also deals with the foreigners who should be given "advice." The actual raising of the visa question is without any doubt a sovereign matter, it is just that no one ever included the point on advice among the consular commitments, and that is the first thing that strikes the eye. The second feature that sets one thinking is the prospect of a once impenetrable border turning into a "transparent" one. If, say, a foreigner arrived in Ukraine and obtained a visa there, he would then be at liberty to go to any part of Russia by any means of transport without any formalities.

Korean International Corporation Opens in Kiev

LD2303235992 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] A mission of one of the biggest industrial-financial groups of the Republic of Korea, Lucky-Goldstar (full name of firm is Lucky-Goldstar International Corporation) has been opened in Kiev. It offers Ukrainian firms technology for conversion enterprises, equipment for the modernization and construction of chemical and petrochemical complexes, electronics and household appliances. The opening of a mission of another Korean firm Samsung is scheduled for 27th May.

Diplomatic Ties Established With South Africa

AU2403175792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] As we have been informed by the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, full diplomatic relations have been established between Ukraine and the Republic of South Africa by way of exchanging notes between Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries.

National Affairs

Supreme Soviet Discusses Economic Policy

LD2403212792 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Kiev March 24 TASS—A closed plenary meeting of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today discussed fundamentals of the Ukrainian national economic policy.

President Leonid Kravchuk made a report on the issue, which was followed by heated debates.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution by the constitutional majority to approve conceptual provisions of the Ukrainian national economic policy's fundamentals. The Ukrainian president was offered to improve the mechanism of implementation of the fundamentals and submit to the republican Supreme Soviet necessary changes in legislative acts to be made in order to conduct the new economic policy.

Removal of Ruble Envisaged

LD2403233592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Journalist Viktor Alekseyev has reported from Kiev that more than two-thirds of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies have voted for the basic directions of economic development put forward by President Kravchuk. This is the result of parliament's closed sitting on 24 March.

The key aspect of Leonid Kravchuk's concept is the introduction of coupons on all types of monetary circulation, including bank clearing operations; that is, the removal of the ruble from circulation on Ukrainian territory. At the same time, it is planned to switch over to trade with Commonwealth member states at world prices and to provide for the internal convertibility of the coupon. The coupon, according to the president, is to take upon itself the buffets of inflation until monetary circulation in Ukraine stabilizes.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decision does not contain a specific mechanism for the final and universal introduction of coupons in Ukraine. The decision is of the nature of a declaration of a basic approach, and unties the president's hands for resolute steps.

Crimean Tatars Hold Rally in Simferopol 22 Mar

LD2503055192 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Crimean Tatars held a mass rally on Lenin Square in Simferopol on 22 March. Before it started, the hymn of the Crimean Tatar people was played. The participants in the negotiations with the Ukrainian leadership who had returned from the Kiev-92 action declared that the Crimean Tatar people demand restoration of national and territorial autonomy in the Crimea which was stated too in the resolution adopted at the rally. The rally's participants also protested resolutely in connection with the actions by the Kiev militia against the pickets outside the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and they also demanded punishment of those guilty. It was decided at the rally to delegate to the Ukrainian capital another 200 people because the Kiev-92 action continues.

National Security Staff Swear Allegiance

LD2403114192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] The staff of the National Security Department in Odessa region have taken an oath of allegiance to the

Ukrainian state. Representatives of more than 20 nationalities swore to firmly stand in defense of the interests of the young state.

Nationalists Demonstrate Over New Army

LD2503090892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent V. Lyashko, from Lvov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] What kind of army should Ukraine have? The debate continues, but has now moved onto the streets.

[Lyashko] Lvov—A week ago, demonstrators on this square debated the establishment of the new Ukrainian army. The military theme was continued at this rally today. It was called by the Ukrainian Nationalist Union and the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly. The speakers' opinion is that Ukraine should not let go of its nuclear weapons, still less send them off to Russia which, they reckon, has yet to shake off its big brother complex.

The rally's organizers gave plenty of examples of this complex: attempts to interfere in Ukraine's internal affairs, meaning the Crimea; the problems with the Black Sea Fleet; failure to maintain economic links; lack of loyalty in the news. There was one other thought that surfaced at the demonstration today: If the Commonwealth cannot solve the major issues facing it, then Ukraine should not remain within the CIS.

Strike Continues in Donetsk Coal Basin

LD2303235492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Moderates of the Donetsk coal basin continue their strike. Among their demands is a raise in pay, regulated prices for fuel, lubricating oil, spare parts, the elaboration of a social protection program under conditions of the liberalization of prices. The Independent Trade Union of Miners' of Ukraine has voiced its support to the moderates.

In the circulated statement to the work collectives and leaders of enterprises in the Donbass it calls for restraint on the introduction of fines and other forms of economic pressure on the striking drivers (as heard).

Donetsk Railworkers Form Strike Committee

LD2403000992 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] A coordinating strike committee has been formed today [20 March] by workers of the Donetsk railroad. They have set down their demands in a telegram to the president, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet parliament, and the Prime Minister of Ukraine. If these demands are not met, the work collectives of the Donetsk railroad will hold a two-hour warning strike on 31st March.

State Fund To Be Created To Finance Science

AU2403095992 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 10 (56), Mar 92 p 11

["On the Creation of the State Innovation Fund. Resolution No. 77 Issued on 18 February 1992"]

[Text] In order to promote the fulfillment of the Ukrainian Law "On the Principles of State Policy in the Sphere of Science and Scientific-Research Activity," the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine resolves as follows:

1. To create a State Innovation Fund (hereafter "Fund") in Ukraine, with regional branches in the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and in Kiev and Sevastopol, for financing measures aimed at promoting the development and implementation of the achievements in science and technology.

2. The capital of the Fund will be made up of budget allocations that will be provided by the state in order to give support to scientific and technological activity. It will also be maintained by deductions from the capital of enterprises, associations, and organizations, as well as by voluntary contributions from juridical and physical persons.

To determine that enterprises, associations, and organizations must contribute capital amounting to one percent of the volume of the realization of their products (labor, services) to the Fund, proceeding from the prime cost of the products.

In order to ensure that a particular science is financed, enterprises, associations, and organizations must be allowed to transfer 70 percent of the volume of the aforementioned deductions to a special fund of extrabudgetary capital that will be created in ministries, departments, concerns, corporations, or other formations to finance branch or interbranch scientific-research work and measures for assimilating new technologies and for manufacturing new types of products.

3. The Ministry of Finance, jointly with Ukraine's Ministry of the Economy and the Committee for Scientific and Technological Progress at Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, must elaborate and adopt the procedure for the formation and utilization of the special fund of extrabudgetary capital of ministries, departments, concerns, corporations, and other formations.

4. The Ministry of the Economy, jointly with the Committee for the Scientific and Technological Progress at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and with Ukraine's Ministry of Finance, must elaborate and submit to the government, within a month, the draft resolution on the Fund.

Belarus

Shushkevich Remarks on CIS Summit Results

LD2303193692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich held a news conference in Minsk today on the results of the Kiev meeting of leaders of the Commonwealth countries.

The Belarussian parliament leader said that overall he is satisfied with the results of the conference. In reply to a question, Stanislav Shushkevich set out how he sees the problems of the Commonwealth. The issue of Baykonur was not resolved, as it has not been finalized. The expected freeing of prices for fuels could be catastrophic for the republic.

The following question also was asked: Was real progress achieved in Kiev on the problems under discussion?

[Begin Shushkevich recording] On the main issues—property and banking—unfortunately, there was very little progress. However, specific instructions were given, and in this respect there was tolerable progress.

Next, I believe that a solution was found to all the issues regarding conflicts, and on the procedure for intervention—I repeat, intervention—at the request of the states involved in conflicts.

Another issue that was well resolved concerned supplies to, and command of, the armed forces, and the appropriate procedures. In effect, a kind of military doctrine was formulated and adopted for the transition period.

Issues concerning the protection of borders were settled, and on the procedures for protecting borders. One matter of special interest for us is that the procedures for building facilities for the new borders were agreed upon. Thus, great progress was made on all issues relating to reorganization, the regulation of structures, and their democratization.

The experts worked for a long time, and it has been agreed that certain issues need longer preparation. Thus, you can see that the tension effectively has been removed. The next meeting can be held not in a month's time, but in nearly two months. There will be fewer issues, because a whole range of issues will have been solved before the meeting, as a mechanism has been determined for solving them. [end recording]

The fate of the Ostankino television and radio company also was mentioned at the news conference. Stanislav Shushkevich thought a number of programs on the first channel are tendentious, and your correspondent was reproached for editing interviews in such a way that the point of the conversation is distorted.

[Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 23 March carries a two-minute report on the news conference, which includes a recording of Shushkevich's reply to a question about why "almost no economic problems were examined" at the Kiev meeting. Shushkevich says: "At the conference of heads of government, we managed to delegate a whole range of economic problems to experts. So, it is now for them to solve these issues. There are no political problems, and no lack of political will, preventing the heads of government from solving these economic problems. Anyway, there was nothing there that needed to be examined by heads of state."]

Further on CIS Summit

MK2403125792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 92 p 1

[Igor Sinyakevich report under the "Belarus" rubric: ""Only the Grave Can Put 'Ostankino' Right.' Belarussian Leader Is Displeased With Moscow Television"]

[Text] Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich held a press conference 23 March devoted to the results of the meeting in Kiev between CIS heads of state. Speaking about the division of former USSR property, Shushkevich said: "I get the impression that, citing the difficulty of resolving this problem, Russia effectively blocked it. Which is to say its argument ran as follows: This issue is so complex that it is best not to tackle it. But in cases such as this the usual device employed is: the question is divided up into parts and resolved in parts, and then these parts are put back together again. Since what we have here is virtually an ultimatum—in the overwhelming majority of cases former USSR property is administered by Russia—Leonid Kravchuk could hardly be enthusiastic about such a decision. Therefore when he said at the beginning of the press conference in Kiev that he sees no prospect of resolving this problem if Russia acts independently of the wishes of all the rest, this lent a pessimistic tone to the press conference. I am also sorry that we did not make much progress on this issue, but there is some hope of resolving it." Stanislav Shushkevich assumed that Russia's inflexible position on the issue of former USSR property is attributable to the change in Ukraine's position on withdrawing nuclear weapons from its territory. "Methods of political opposition to Ukraine's new approach have been found. Whatever the explanation for this approach, it is nonetheless new," the Belarussian leader stated. Shushkevich stressed that the position of Belarus on the question of withdrawing nuclear weapons remains unchanged.

According to Shushkevich, all the other questions on the agenda of the Kiev meeting were examined exceptionally constructively, and "perfectly worthy decisions" were found.

Stanislav Shushkevich denied reports that have appeared in the press to the effect that the Belarussian

border with Lithuania and Latvia will be guarded with Russian help. "We have only agreed that Russia will give us technical and financial assistance in organizing border control on the Belarus-Lithuania and Belarus-Latvia borders. Since borders between CIS members will be 'transparent,' then naturally all states, and especially Russia, should be interested in guarding the external borders of Commonwealth countries," the Supreme Soviet chairman stated. "In order to ensure the security of Commonwealth member states, the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation agreed to examine the question of joint facilities on the newly formed border with the Baltic states on the basis of a bilateral agreement." Shushkevich stressed that this is an economic and not a political question.

The republic's leader named the creation of a rapid reaction force along the lines of the UN "blue helmets" to keep the peace in hotbeds of conflict as a major positive point at the Kiev meeting. According to Shushkevich, rich international experience in this field was borne in mind when resolving this issue.

"Attacked" twice by journalists from the "Ostankino" television and radio company on the subject of setting up an international broadcasting company using "Ostankino" as a base, Stanislav Shushkevich answered that Belarus still thinks it better to relay the U.S. CNN network with subtitles or the "Ostankino" first channel. According to the Belarussian leader, the broadcasts coming out of Moscow are biased. "In my opinion, only the grave can put 'Ostankino' right," Shushkevich said.

Border Guards Agreement Reached

LD2303230392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1942 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Minsk—According to the bilateral agreement Russia will hold a share in funding and technical equipment of the border between Belarus and the Baltic states, said Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. At his March 23 press-conference in Minsk Shushkevich repelled the information of NARODNAYA GAZETA, newspaper of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, featured in the March 21 issue. The newspaper stated that an agreement on having joint border guard units with Russia had been reached at the Kiev summit. According to Shushkevich, in his telephone conversation with chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis the two leaders conceded that the agreement with Russia would not contradict Belarus treaties with Lithuania and Latvia.

More on Border Resolution

LD2403033192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 23 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarussian parliament, announced at a news conference today how the state border between Belarus and Lithuania will look like. He said the border markers will be dug according to the juridical border. INTERFAX notes that previously the problem was that some of the Lithuanian cooperative farms came onto Belarussian territory and Vilnius called for the division to be made according to actual use of the land, while Minsk insisted on restoration of the juridical border. Now it seems the problem has been solved.

Belarus, Kaliningrad Reach Trade Agreement

LD2503062992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Belarussian enterprises will participate in construction of the westernmost Russian port on the Baltic. This is being envisaged in the agreement on the principles of trade and economic cooperation between the Republic of Belarus and Kaliningrad Oblast. Construction of the Grodno-Kaliningrad highway via the Polish city of Suwalki is also being planned. This will ensure the transit of Belarussian goods to the port for their shipment since Belarus has no other access to the Baltic Sea. In order to avoid the current dependence on Lithuania, it has been decided to use the same route to transport natural gas from Belarus. Exchange of a wide range of goods and services is also being planned with payments made in rubles.

Moldova

Police Accused of Dnestr Truce Violations

LD2403175292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The leadership of the unrecognized Dnestr Moldovan Republic (DMR) has accused the Moldovan police of violating the ceasefire. A report from the "PRIDNESTROVYE" information agency received by ITAR-TASS today points out that Moldovan armed groups made up of about 400 men, backed by nine armored transports and mortar fire, launched an offensive on Monday morning against Dnestr Republic forces 10-15 km south of Dubossary. Chisinau had earlier blamed the separatists for violating the truce.

A statement sent to ITAR-TASS by DMR President Igor Smirnov stresses that 16-year-old Vitaliy Barsuk died near Dubossary on Sunday [22 March] night as a result of a group of youths being shelled, while in Grigoriopol Senior Militia Lieutenant D. Apostolov was killed in his home by police.

Igor Smirnov stated that "the DMR will take the most decisive and all-encompassing measures" to defend its territory and citizens. At the same time, he called for the

immediate withdrawal of all armed groups to the areas where they are permanently stationed, an exchange of prisoners, and further negotiations by the sides.

Moldovan, Dnestr Representatives Meet in Bychok

LD2403141492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] A meeting between representatives of Moldova and the Dnestr Republic has been held in the village of Bychok. According to the press center of the Dnestr Republic government, questions of the exchange of POWs and the restoration of the status of security zones were discussed at the meeting. The sides pledged to insure a firm cease-fire and they reached agreement on the resumption of the work of the conciliation commissions on economic and political matters.

Dnestr Officials Hold Moscow News Conference

LD2403144692 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shevel]

[Text] Moscow, March 24 TASS—"The conflict in the Dnestr area is mainly explained by the fact that the rights of the indigenous and non-indigenous population are being infringed upon in the Moldovan Republic and social life is being actively Romanised there, by the lack of guarantees that Moldova will never accede to Romania," chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr republic Grigory Marakutsa told a press conference held today at the Moscow City Council.

The parliamentary delegation of the Dnestr republic has come to Moscow to explain its view on the conflict to the Russian leadership and the public.

According to Marakutsa, the population of Moldova wants the republic to be based on federative principles. This would allow the Dnestr area to determine its future independently if Moldova was to lose its statehood.

The Dnestr authorities believe the present armed confrontation cannot be overcome by force. "All disputed problems can be settled only through negotiations," Marakutsa noted.

Dnestr leaders believe that disengagement of forces on both sides of the Dnestr is the only precondition for a ceasefire. They hold that four sides should take part in the talks to settle the conflict; the Republic of Moldova, the Dnestr republic, Russia and the Ukraine. Marakutsa wants Russia and Ukraine to be more active in the effort to settle the conflict. He said several influential Russian politicians had displayed an understanding of the Dnestr republic's position. He refused to name them out of ethical considerations.

The Dnestr delegation intends to forward an appeal to President Boris Yeltsin and Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, asking for their help during the negotiations with Moldova.

CIS Military Unit Attacked Near Dubossary

LD2403135192 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 24 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Dubossary, March 24 TASS—A group of unknown people, dressed as a special-task force of Moldova, attacked a military brigade in the city of Beltsy on Tuesday [24 March], TASS learned from reliable sources. One soldier was seriously wounded, two of the attackers were also wounded and hospitalised. Two machineguns were seized in the attack.

This was the only clash reported in the breakaway Dnestr region in the past 24 hours.

Beginning from March 2, the armed conflict in the region took a toll of 45 lives, according to Dimitru Korletyanu, a spokesman for the Moldovan Interior Ministry. Six Moldovan policemen and seven civilians were killed, 37 and 25 correspondingly were wounded. 32 Dnestr militants were killed and some 100 wounded, Korletyanu said quoting radio reports from the Dnestr area.

Authorities Take Materiel From CIS Army

LD2403183292 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, March 24 TASS—Using the uncertainty of the status of the CIS allied Armed Forces stationed in Moldova, some of the local authorities take possession of their arms and materiel.

For instance, in the Sholdaneshty District the procurator and the police commissioner accompanied by armed policemen come to a local military formation, removed and took away 13 machine guns, 10 pistols and several thousand cartridges, sources at the CIS allied armed forces' press center told ITAR-TASS.

Late at night on the same day, at the instruction of the Moldovan military commissioner in Floreshty, representatives of the local authorities took possession of three anti-aircraft launchers and other military equepment at an army materiel storage.

Minister Reviews Casualties Since 2 Mar

AU2403214692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Our Chisinau correspondent told us that the situation remains tense on the left bank of the Dnestr River, as has been the case for the past 13 days in

Moldova. Although the Conciliation Commission met again yesterday and categorically demanded a cease-fire, sporadic shooting was heard last night. Chisinau Radio announced that this morning, between 0900 and 1000, the separatists subjected the buildings of the Central Hospital and rayonal executive headquarters in Criuleni to heavy machine gun fire. Relative calm returned at noon.

Our correspondent also told us that, in his report to the Moldovan parliament on the latest developments on the left bank of the Dnestr, Interior Minister Constantin Antoci said that since 2 March six policemen have lost their lives and 37 have been wounded. Some 25 victims have been registered among the civilian population, including seven who paid with their lives for the criminal aggression of the separatists.

The Moldova parliament adopted a statement in reply to the statement of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation a few days ago. The text of this reply will be released.

Our correspondent also tells us that Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi and Defense Minister Ion Costas met in Chisinau with the commanders of military units deployed on the right bank of the Dnestr.

Moldovans Refuse To Join 'Mercenary' Guardsmen

AU2503130492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The Tiraspol correspondent of Chisinau Radio announced this morning that in accordance with the pseudo-president of the so-called Dnestr Republic in connection with the armed conflict in the Moldovan rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr, the complete mobilization of the population in this area was announced. However, although they are threatened with punishment, the young people and adults up to the age of 50, refuse to enroll in the mercenary guardsmen's detachments.

In the village of Ciubrugiu in Slobozia Rayon, the refusal to enroll in these units was unanimous. In areas where battles are being waged, the population of the villages are organizing groups of volunteers who side with the Moldovan policemen.

Radio Chisinau has reported today that a meeting was organized at the Teachers' Training School in Orhei against the separatist policy. On this occasion the participants, that is, teachers and students, called on Russian President Boris Yeltsin to put an end to the armed intervention in the sovereign state of Moldova. The text of an appeal to the president of the republic, Mircea Snegur, to the parliament, and to the Government of Moldova was adopted. It includes a call to leaders to do all they can in order to find peaceful solutions to the conflict.

Likewise, MOLDOVA PRES issued an appeal by the Russian-speaking people at the Chisinau Air-Tight Electro Pumps Enterprise addressed to the town soviets in Tiraspol, Dubasari, Ribnita, and Benderi, and to the presidents of Moldova, Ukraine, and Russia to cooperate in order to immediately halt all military actions and solve the conflict in peaceful ways.

Radio Chisinau also reports about the news conference held on 24 March in the former Moscow Town Hall, which was attended by Grigore Maracuta, the self-declared president of the Supreme Soviet of the sham Dnestr Republic. During the news conference he tried to find arguments in support of the position of separatist leaders in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr, stating that—we quote—Moldova must be declared a federation.

Cossacks Vow To Support Dnestr Russians

LD2003102392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" cast]

[Text] The situation in the Dnestr region is relatively quiet. Both sides are noting minor violations of the cease-fire by their opponents.

The Ukrainian authorities confiscated four hand-grenades and three submachine guns from three Kuban Cossacks who were heading for the Dnestr region. The Cossack movement is causing a mass of inconvenience to the leadership of Russia. On the one hand, Russia must not support separatists so as not to tempt them with autonomy. On the other hand, it should defend the interest of Russians outside the bounds of Russia.

It looks as though the Cossack hetmans are not embarrassed by the subtler points of interstate relations. While Moscow remains silent and does not express its position, the Cossacks are sharpening their sabers.

[S. Meshcheryakov, hetman of the Union of Cossacks of the Don oblast troops] The Don Cossacks are not defending socialism in the Dnestr region but are defending the Russian and Slav population from obvious genocide. Assessing the critical situation which has taken shape today, we are appealing to President Yeltsin and to Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, not to close their eyes to the situation that has been created, but to express their opinion regarding the protection of Russian people, the Slavs on the banks of the Dnestr. The Don Cossacks will never leave their brothers in trouble and will stand their ground to the end. That is quite definite.

Cossacks's Role in Dnestr Conflict Viewed

PM2403130592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 2

[A. Ganelin, A. Khantsevich, and A. Khokhlov report: "Hetman's Squadron. Some Call Cossacks in Dnestr Region Mercenaries, Others Call Them Saviors. So What Are They?"]

[Text] Riding in a bus with a Cossack behind the wheel leaves you with an impression you will not forget for the rest of your life. The driver in the Cossack hat drove the horsepower herd in a mischievous but sure manner. The little bus galloped along, leaping the potholes and the ruts. What else could it do given that the driver had a horse whip at his boot heel?

The bus's windows are devoid of glass. They have been smashed by bursts of automatic fire. There are bullet holes in its sides. In this vehicle the Cossacks had been transporting military personnel and their families from a civil defense regiment in Kochiery. Now the Cossacks are traveling from Tiraspol to Dubossary. Their Cossack hats are worn on one side, and forelocks peep out from beneath their tilted service caps. Automatic rifles lie beside them on the seats. People along the road look at the Cossacks in various ways: Some wave joyfully after them, others look on sullenly.

"Hey, do you see that?" a young Cossack blurts out. "Don't they like us?"

Their arrival positively displeased the Moldovan leadership. An international scandal has blown up over them. Moldovan President M. Snegur called them "mercenary Cossacks" in an appeal to the people. The republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs approached the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note of protest, demanding that the Cossacks be withdrawn from the Dnestr region. Russia promised to get to the bottom of the matter and take measures. In the Dnestr region local inhabitants are bringing them food, women are taking in their linen to be washed, and people have brought a black and white television set to the barracks where the Cossacks live. The Cossacks' arrival has raised the fighting spirit of the inhabitants of the Dnestr region. Even the guards say: "Give us two Cossacks at a guard post to raise morale."

"Will you go back home if the Russian Government decides to recall you?" we asked.

"It was not the government which sent us here," the Cossack lieutenant [podyesaul] Fedor Petrovich Parshukov replied. "We came here on our own and will leave on our own if the Cossack assembly so decides. To be honest, Snegur's ideology is closer to me then that of the Dnestr Moldavian Republic—its all those red flags. Like Snegur, I am in favor of independence. We also want our independent Cossack republic on the Don. I like Snegur, but the Cossacks always defend the Russians. The Russian authorities are at present trying to please everyone, but you cannot be nice to everyone."

The lieutenant is wearing an Order of the Red Star on his chest. What is it for? "For saving people's lives," the lieutenant, a captain in the reserve and former military helicopter pilot, replies. Among the Cossacks who have arrived in the Dnestr region there are many former officers—people who have been in the reconnaissance battalions and the special forces.

Just how did the Cossacks turn up in the Dnestr region at all?.. Back in October the Dnestr Cossacks appealed for help at their great assembly. The congress of Cossacks of southern Russia decided to support them. And volunteers set off for the Dnestr region. Here, as with the guards, service contracts were concluded with them. Weapons were handed out on presentation of a passport and a military service card. How much do they earn? An amount so insignificant that a cleaner in the Moscow metro probably earns more.

...In Dubossary there is a building where the Cossacks live which resembles a partisan detachment's base. Some of them go about in soldiers' greatcoats with trimmed skirts, and fur trimmings on the sleeves and collars; others wear Circassian coats. They have buttons with eagles on them, and chevrons.

"We say this here: As is your tunic, so should your service cap be," cornet [khorunzhiy] Aleksey Nesterenko explains. "Your service cap should be the same color as your uniform."

We look around and get the feeling we are on the set of "Quiet Flows the Don," or we had altogether landed back in 1917. But on the other hand, it would be naive to think that if in the now independent CIS states national flags are raised, and customs and history are remembered, that this will not happen in the Cossack regions of Russia. Here they have also brought to mind all the customs, usages, and history of the Cossack people. And Cossack history was written with the saber and the rifle.

"Do you know why men on the Don do not walk arm in arm with their wives?" Cornet Nesterenko asks. "How would the wife of a dead Cossack view this? She cannot walk arm in arm with her husband."

Many Cossacks have blue, yellow, and red chevrons on their sleeves. A tricolor chevron at an angle. This is the sign of the hetmans' squadrons which were formed to defend cities when the Cossacks were off on a campaign. The Moldavian police also have a blue, yellow, and red stripe—which are the colors of the Moldovan national flag. Three similar colors for our time, but let not the color red swallow up everything.

Kyrgyzstan

Reports on Expulsion of Russians Denied

PM2403120892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report: "No Forced Emigration in Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] Bishkek—Anxiety over a news report by the ITAR-TASS correspondent for Novgorod Oblast carried on radio's first program shows no signs of abating. The report cited a statement by a woman arriving here [Novgorod], to the effect that in Kyrgyzstan "a definite deadline has been fixed for Russians to leave—23 March. Because of the ultimatum I had to sell my apartment and property at knockdown prices."

On 20 March the press service of the president of Kyrgyzstan issued a statement on this news story which says that no such official decisions or directives have been or will be adopted in the republic. The very idea that it is permissible to raise the question in that way is absurd and ridiculous.

Nationalities policy in Kyrgyzstan—and many political figures, including some from foreign countries, have attested to this in recent times—is subordinate to strict respect for the rights and interests of ethnic minorities, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and the creation of decent living conditions for every citizen of the republic, regardless of nationality.

Of course, as a result of the disintegration of the Union and the universal crisis in society, social tension has grown, which was bound to lead to an intensification of migrational trends. Aware of all the seriousness and complexity of this problem, the leadership and president of Kyrgyzstan steadfastly and consistently stand up for the achievement of civil peace and national concord in the republic, and this is confirmed by concrete legal and practical measures. Moreover, President A. Akayev has stressed many times in his public speeches and statements that an exodus of the Russian population would be a great loss for Kyrgyzstan and would lead to a reduction in its economic, scientific, and cultural potential.

This unchanging policy determines the standpoints and actions of the official authorities at all levels. Consequently, the facts cited in the ITAR-TASS report are disinformation, a distortion of the real state of affairs in the republic.

President Akayev Criticizes Russocentric Press

PM2403152592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Abridged version of Kyrgyzstan President A. Akayev's speech at Bishkek media roundtable: "Kyrgyzstan President Advocates Keeping Single Information Area"]

[Text] A roundtable of media chiefs from leading CIS papers and representatives of press services in Central Asian states, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan has been held in Bishkek. The initiator and organizer of the meeting was Republic of Kyrgyzstan President A. Akayev. Today we publish a slightly abridged stenographic account of his speech to the roundtable participants. We hope that the ideas expressed by A. Akayev will be of interest not only to media representatives, but to readers as well.

We Need Allies

We are currently waging a desperate battle to survive and to live well. We need allies for that. We will not win this battle alone. Allies at the level of states, at the level of parties, and at the level of the press—the independent political forces of modern times. So we invited you along as allies and as partners. We want to establish much closer and more constructive cooperation with you than before.

We must not only get to know one another and generate a mutual liking, but also devise a model of interaction.

The Wild Ass's Skin of the Russian Language

It is not only literature, the Chekhovs and Dostoyevskiys, that is the repository of the Russian language in the Central Asian region. I think the writers of the classics will forgive me for saying so. You are now a reservoir of Russian literature. So the less you write about us, the less you are read here, the narrower the sphere of the Russian printed word becomes. I do not intend to—indeed, I fear to—predict the consequences of this. But I believe that they are irreversible, like Balzac's wild ass's skin. But the Russian language in the region is not just language, but deeds. Political deeds, the deeds of interethnic accord and civil peace.

Not Just Courtesy

A single country means a single information area. With the disintegration of the USSR, dozens of countries, grouped in accordance with the criteria of geographic and ethnic proximity, have formed on the territory of what was once a unitary state.

There are the standards and demands of political ethics. Having invited such eminent representatives of the press to Kazakhstan, a state in the Central Asian region, we were bound, because of these demands, to invite represenatives of friendly neighboring states to the meeting. But it is not just courtesy. There is something particular that binds us together in a single conglomeration. So it was yesterday, so it is today, and so it will be tomorrow. So it is impossible to write about Kyrgyzstan without bringing in the problems of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. It would mean taking things out of context and would clearly not benefit the cause, yours or ours.

Kyrgyzstan's Special Mentality

There is something that separates us, Kyrgyzstan, from the general Central Asian group. Kyrgyzstan's special mentality. History has arranged for us to be an amazing amalgam of the Asian and the European: in our thinking, in our emotional makeup, in our behavior. I don't think I will offend anyone by saying this. It is a fact.

Since the USSR's disintegration, in our view, the former central papers have suffered from one-sided information. Newspaper space is filled mainly with news from Russia. Understandably, since the bulk of subscribers and readers lives in Russia. At the same time, around one-half of the news from the provinces—Vologda, Astrakhan or Pskov—is not of much relevance to readers in our region.

The information vacuum will soon be filled. The functions of a general Turkic-Asian paper are most likely to be assumed by a paper in one of the states of the region or, very possibly, by a Turkish paper. We just have to change our alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin... In our view, the news from the states of the Turkic-Asian region should occupy an amount of space in the [central] newspapers that is commensurate with their territorial, economic, and political significance in the Commonwealth. Only then would one be able to say that the former central papers will not have serious competitors in the very near future.

The special mentality I talked about determined our special role vis-a-vis the central Russian press. Willy-nilly we are championing and will continue to champion ideas that are common to us and to Russia and preach values that are to a considerable extent also common to us and Russia. To ignore this is objectively to make a rather serious political mistake.

Everyone, Both Right and Left, Will Work for Democracy in Kyrgyzstan

Past years have been years of destruction of idols and monuments. This period has ended. Now is the time for creation. A time for the formation of values and ideals, of a way of understanding the world, a way of life. We in Kyrgyzstan are forming democratic ways and ideas. Our path is the path to a civil rule-of-law society. By no means everyone shares this path either in the way it is conceived or in the way it is implemented.

We need not only allies in the press, but opponents as well. I think the opponents could be of as much benefit to us as the allies, making us think better and act more vigorously, igniting, to use the words of the poet, the fire of unspent forces. It is important, though, that the opposition should be civilized.

Marriage of Convenience and for Love

I believe that the development of our cooperation benefits you as well as us. I will say it again: If we find ways to cooperate effectively, you will retain the traditional Russian-language area and contribute to the protection and implementation of the Russian-speaking population's interests. And this will only strengthen interethnic accord and support Russia's policy in the region.

Desertions From Military Garrison Discussed

LD2303202292 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in English 0000 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] The press conference in which the representatives of different republican (?divisions) took place [as heard] has been held in the State Committee of Defense of Kyrgyzstan. The chairman's assistant, Major [name indistinct], has acquainted reporters with the results of work of the commission which was founded after 66,000 [figure as heard] had left one of the units of the local garrison.

The members of the commission formed by the representatives of the State Committee of Defense, the republican recruiting office [and] the public prosecutor's department of the garrison has (?cleared up) that the unit had been left by the soldiers both of Slavonic [as heard] and Kyrgyz nations. The bad living conditions and the undermined discipline caused this incident.

President Comments on Reform Program, Future

PM2403161492 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Mar 92 p C3

[Anders Steinvall report, incorporating undated Bishkek interview with Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev: "On the Road to Democracy"]

[Text] Bishkek—Askar Akayev has his sights set high when he speaks of the future of the small state of Kyrgyzstan.

"God created us to have a Switzerland in Central Asia," the 47-year-old president said, pointing to the map.

He laughed heartily at his own comparison.

Akayev has visited Switzerland and seen the difference between a developed European country and a rundown former Soviet republic.

What he hopes is that Kyrgyzstan, like Switzerland, will develop into a neutral democratic state open to foreign capital.

The president is willing to allow anyone who wants to dismiss this grandiose vision as naive wishful thinking to do so.

He knows that many leaders around the world—from Washington to Seoul—take him seriously.

The fact that the rest of the world has begun to take notice of this country, which less that two years ago was the most conservative of the Soviet republics, is really due to one thing only.

President Akayev is something as unusual in these parts as a real democrat.

Such a leader, the leaders in the West think, must be encouraged.

"There is resistance to our political reforms here. It is quite strong. But I no longer think that any forces can stop our democracy," Akayev said when he received me in his large office.

He has just returned from a trip to Canada. Locating Kyrgyzstan on the world map takes a lot of work.

In the atlases the country is still a small Soviet republic of 4.4 million inhabitants. In them the capital is still given as Frunze—what it used to be called.

The story of Askar Akayev and his road to power is one of the last few years' most remarkable episodes in the turbulent dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In October 1990 he was sensationally elected chairman of the parliament of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic.

For local Communist leader Absamat Masaliyev, one of Moscow's most loyal puppets who loved to hobnob with conservative party bigwigs from the capital, the election of Akayev was an incredible humiliation.

He packed his things and left the republic.

Even today Akayev's supporters seem to find it difficult to understand how it actually happened.

Akayev is not a politician, but a prominent scientist. He is an expert on quantum optics. After many years' work in the former Leningrad he returned to what was then Frunze where he became chairman of the Kyrgyz Academy of Sciences in 1989.

From this post he was nominated by the republic's small democratic movement as a candidate in the election to the chairmanship of the parliament.

The explanation for Akayev's victory was hardly the strength of the democrats, for in the fall of 1990 this was nonexistent.

The surprising victory was based instead on deep dissatisfaction with Masaliyev and the Communist leadership which had been pointed to as responsible for the ethnic clashes which shook the republic in early 1990.

Both Akayev himself and his amazed supporters call what has happened in Kyrgyzstan since his election a "Silken Revolution."

"We want to be a small nation open to the whole world, just as we were beside the old Silk Road," Akayev said.

The historic trade route between Europe and China passed through what is now Kyrgyzstan.

Akayev's power was reinforced last fall when he was elected unopposed to the presidency by the people.

A visitor to Bishkek finds it difficult to find outward signs that this is now the capital of an independent country that has scrapped Soviet communism.

The gigantic state of Lenin still stands in the even more gigantic central square.

Kyrgyzstan still has its old Soviet flag with the hammer and sickle. Parliament has only just begun to discuss a new flag and a national anthem for the country.

Unlike the leaders of several other former Soviet republics, Akayev has been unwilling to begin his Silken Revolution with symbolic acts.

He has concentrated instead on attempting to rapidly force through economic reforms.

The first step has been the privatization of agriculture—a field in which Akayev thinks great progress has been made in a short time.

"I think that we are in the lead among the former Soviet republics when it comes to the privatization of agriculture," he said.

Around 20 percent of the cultivable land is now in private ownership, as against 0.4 percent a year ago.

The next step is the privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises. These two groups—the private farmers and the private entrepreneurs—have already formed political movements to defend their interests.

"It is these groups which will provide the future stability of our society. A middle class which we hope will get the economy moving," Akayev said.

The Kyrgyz president is firmly convinced that the country's future lies in good contacts with the rest of the world—including distant countries like Canada.

Kyrgyzstan's neighbors, among which Kazakhstan is a partial exception, are ruled by enemies of reform.

Akayev does not think that the CIS will have a long life.

"As I see it, the Commonwealth has is of significance only in a transitional phase," said Akayev, who believes that Ukraine will be the first country to leave the CIS.

To the east lies China with which Kyrgyzstan wants to extend its ties. China's rulers have shown interest, but they are also shying away from Akayev's democracy.

Not all Kyrgyz like the fact that Akayev welcomes with open arms a strong American and Western influence on the development of the country.

"We do not want our children to be given America up to here," Sadikgan Kamalov said, pointing to his throat.

Kamalov heads a Muslim cultural center which would rather see Kyrgyzstan restoring old religious traditions.

"We want to develop the Islamic idea," he said.

Saudi Arabia and other rich Arab countries have offered money to build mosques and credits to get the Kyrgyz economy moving. Turkey and Iran are also fighting for influence in the region.

However, the majority of Kyrgyz—including Akayev—say that there is no breeding ground for the fundamentalist Islamic faith in Kyrgyzstan.

The country's leadership also wants to avoid too strong a religious image, because this frightens the Russian section of the population (one-fifth of inhabitants).

Despite Akayev's liberal policies many Russians have moved. This is a hard blow to the economy, because in many cases Russian have the skilled jobs.

"If Islam grows strong many Russians will move away," German Kuznetsov, a prominent Russian politician in the Kyrgyz parliament, believes.

"But I do not believe in such a development and the majority of Russians here support independence," he stressed.

Perhaps they want to share the fascinating president's vision of building a new Switzerland from the ruins of Soviet communism.

The backdrop is already there. The Kyrgyz mountains are more breathtaking than the Swiss Alps.

However, for the time being at least, the rest remains a dream.

Agreement on Diplomatic Ties Signed With Russia

LD2403235792 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Kyrgyz 1500 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Excerpt] An agreement on establishing diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan was signed in Kiev on 20 March. The agreement was signed at the building of the Kiev city soviet. Otunbayeva, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic, and (Shulu Tsezdayev), first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, signed the document. The two ministers then gave journalists a brief interview. [passage omitted]

Akayev Briefs Press on Results of Indian Visit

LD1903143792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] Delhi, 18 Mar (TASS)—Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev has hailed the results of his official visit to India. He told a news conference here that he is "very satisfied" with his talks with the Indian president, prime minister, and government and with the documents signed today. "We have found complete mutual understanding with the Indian Government in all fields—political, economic, and humanitarian," A. Akayev said.

"I am convinced," the head of independent Kyrgyzstan stressed, "that the accords that have been reached will allow us not only to preserve the relations which India had with the Soviet Union but also to lift our bilateral ties to a qualitatively new and higher level."

A. Akayev described the six documents signed after the talks as "enormously important for developing fruitful cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and India." The documents include: a declaration on the principles of interstate relations; a protocol establishing diplomatic relations; and four agreements concerning cooperation in the economy, trade, science and technology, and on humanitarian issues. "The main thing," the Kyrgyz president pointed out, "is that we have agreed on a mechanism for putting these agreements into practice."

"We are very proud that India and the USSR had relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation," A. Akayev commented. "CIS countries today want to maintain these relations, and a number of them have already proved this during official visits to India by their leaders."

"Kyrgyzstan is interested in cooperation with India, since its experience in developing a market economy and stimulating private enterprise and foreign investments is very close to us," A. Akayev said. "Kyrgyzstan's economy is now very receptive to Indian experience and technologies, since the structure of its economy is very similar to that of India's."

The Kyrgyz president expressed "particular gratitude" for India's assistance in training cadres in banking, small and medium-sized business, the market economy, and other spheres, noting that this is of great importance to Kyrgyzstan's progress along the reform path.

Answering correspondents' questions, A. Akayev noted that the USSR's disintegration has given rise to processes that are being "particularly sorely felt at the level of civil society." "It was the objective need for integration at the human level," A. Akayev said, "which led us to create the CIS. We now strive to strengthen this Commonwealth so that it may facilitate more efficient political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation."

The Kyrgyz president also pointed out that the "USSR's disintegration was unavoidable, since it was a unitary state with a totalitarian system of government. Unfortunately, this provided no opportunity for the republics or a free market economy to develop—in short, for any progress."

"The Commonwealth accords better with the interests of the independent sovereign republics and of the entire region which was once called the USSR," A. Akayev stated.

Answering another question, he pointed out that Kyrgyzstan has "a special relationship with Russia." "We want to preserve this relationship, since it accords with the interests of our people."

The Kyrgyz president went on to say: "Russia in no way influences the bilateral relations of the independent CIS republics with other states. However, we think it is beneficial for us to make use of the whole infrastructure of Russia's foreign policy department."

A. Akayev pointed out that Kyrgyzstan will firmly adhere to a status of permanent neutrality concerning the republic's political orientation. It is now the only state within the former USSR framework that has decided not to have its own armed forces. "We are a very small country," the Kyrgyz president noted, "and must create and not destroy. We wish to obtain from the international community the status of permanent neutrality and not to belong to any military blocs or be involved in hostilities on any side whatsoever."

A. Akayev totally rejected the possibility of fundamentalism emerging in Kyrgyzstan, stating that there is no soil for this in the republic. He also rated as "near zero" the likelihood of a federation of Muslim states being formed in the region.

Common CIS Television Service Supported

LD2103174292

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 19 March in the "Novosti" newscast carries a two-minute report by correspondent V. Federov from Kyrgyzstan.

Fedorov begins by saying that engineers in the republic's television and radio relay service have sent an open letter to the Kyrgyz president saying that in March the republic could be without television and radio because electricity prices are to rise 16-fold and because no contracts have been concluded with television broadcast companies, in particular with the main customer, the Ostankino First Channel, whose programs are broadcast 19.5 hours a day and reach virtually 100 percent of the territory, thanks to an extended relay network.

An engineer at a radio relay station says that it would be theft to take away the Ostankino First Channel, which he says has become extremely interesting recently.

Finally, Kyrgyz Prime Minister Tursunbek Chingyshev, asked about preserving a common television service for the CIS, says: "I consider that we must agree on sharing the support for this system. I favor a common CIS television".

Accompanying video shows the inside of relay stations, and transmitters and dishes.

High Electricity Costs Threaten Broadcasting

PM2503085792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by V. Fedorov and I. Karelin]

[Text1] [Announcer] Staffers of the Kyrgyz Main Radio Relay association have sent an open letter to the republic's president claiming that in March the population may be left without television and radio.

[Fedorov] The reason is the cost of electricity, which has risen 16-fold. That kind of money does not exist, especially since contracts have not been concluded with the TV and radio broadcasting companies, first and foremost with the main client, Ostankino Channel One. Its broadcasts are received in the republic 19.5 hours a day virtually across the whole territory. A special tribute is due to Kyrgyz communications workers here. Under pressure from the inhabitants of rural Tenshan, where there are no roads, clubs, or Soyuzpechat [press distribution service], they created an extensive network of relay lines, sometimes risking their lives, and refitted the retransmitters on the mountain tops above the clouds. Moscow's First Television Channel penetrated the information vacuum, the greatest curse of the shepherd's life. How would people in the remote regions react if Ostankino Channel One disappeared?

[B. Dzhamabekov, radio relay station engineer] It is simply essential that people receive what they think is valuable. I, of course, can say that these programs have changed a lot recently and are very interesting.

Armenia

Iranian Official Says Cease-Fire 'Promising'

LD2403182992 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ARMENPRES correspondent Loris Gukasyan—TASS]

[Text] Yerevan March 24 TASS—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi characterised the temporary ceasefire between the opposing sides in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as "promising".

At a news conference in Yerevan he said Iran will use all its efforts to bring peace and stability to the region and said Russia may play an important role in the settlement.

The official rejected the allegations the conflict rests on the discord between Islam and Christianity.

The lifting of the blockade and the exchange of hostages, extension of the ceasefire may become a prerequisite to the successful negotiations between Azeris and Armenians.

More Azerbaijani Violations

NC2403174992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] In spite of the declared cease-fire, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense. In yet another cease-fire violation, the Azerbaijani side shelled Martuni from the direction of Amiranlar at 1300 on 23 March, injuring one and wounding many more.

March 20 was a tragic day for the Armenian village of Agbulak, Gadrutskiy Rayon. That was the day the village came under artillery fire from the Azerbaijani rayon of Fizulinskiy. One of the shells exploded near a group of children. Four of the children, between 4 and 6 years old, were killed. (?This news) arrived late in Yerevan because the link with Gadrut is [passage indistinct].

President on Role of CIS, Russia in Region

LD2203165792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 22 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 March (TASS)—The CIS is currently the only system which guarantees the security of Armenia and the development of its economy, and the CIS presence in the Transcaucasian region is "for the time being the only stabilizing factor," one which actually determines the policies of Armenia. This was stressed by President of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan, speaking today at the fourth congress of the Armenian National Movement under way in Yerevan. The movement is the ruling socio-political organization in Armenia.

At the same time, L. Ter-Petrosyan noted that active participation in the CIS does not exclude Armenia from developing relations with other security systems, including the emerging system of collective security in the Middle East, NATO, the CSCE, the EEC, and the United Nations. We need to act in all areas, the president stated.

Regarding Russian policy in Transcaucasia, the president pointed out that one gets the impression—and this, in his words, is recognized by Russian political figures—that "Russia does not have a clear policy on our region." This means, he said, that "there is no program of action either." The Armenian leader is convinced that this is a temporary phenomenon; "even while it avoids the restoration of its own empire, sooner or later Russia will have to sense its strategic military interests in Transcaucasia," and if not, then other forces will make it sense of them and Russia "will not want to lose the region as its own sphere of influence." Armenian independence began with Russian recognition and this is an exceptionally important historical fact in the 300-year history of Armenian-Russian ties, L. Ter-Petrosyan stressed.

President Comments on Relations With Turkey

NC2003171592 Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 18 Mar 92 p 11

["Exclusive" interview with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan by CUMHURIYET correspondent Fatih M. Yilmaz in Yerevan; date not given]

[Text] [Yilmaz] On the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Armenia, Ankara has asked Yerevan for a written guarantee that it will abandon its land claims against Turkey and stop accusing Turkey of having committed genocide against Armenians in the past. Will you agree to such guarantees for the sake of establishing diplomatic relations?

[Ter-Petrosyan] I have not been officially informed about any condition for the establishment of diplomatic relations. We want to improve our relations with the Turks. We will not, however, accept any conditions for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which are both UN and CSCE members. As a UN and CSCE member, Armenia has guaranteed that it will comply with certain principles and conditions. A separate guarantee is, therefore, unnecessary. We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey. We have two proposals which we believe will make the two countries feel more at ease: First, let us establish economic and cultural relations; then let us take up political matters. If we fail to achieve success in the economic field, this would mean that we would not be able to achieve progress in the political domain.

[Yilmaz] Armenia used the term "Western Armenia" in its declaration of independence in August 1990. This has placed the question of Armenian land claims against Turkey on the agenda.

[Ter-Petrosyan] The decision was adopted before the Soviet Union disintegrated and before Armenia became a UN and CSCE member. It drew up the framework of our current independence. The CSCE principles, however, have rendered the term you have mentioned ineffective. Armenia has no land claim against any of its neighbors, including Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. I have been unable to understand why Turkey is worried about this issue. I am clearly saying that we agree that borders cannot be changed and that we do not covet any foreign territory. Demands may have been made on the matter by certain circles in both Turkey and Armenia in the past; however, such claims are nothing but an illusion now.

[Yilmaz] Turkey has been worried by the Armenian claims of genocide. There have been a number of indications that the Armenian Administration may bring up the matter.

[Ter-Petrosyan] The question of genocide concerns not only the Armenian Administration but the Armenian people as a whole. This issue would be difficult to ignore. The Armenian Administration would be confronted by the Armenian people if it decided to allow the issue to ebb. The people will not forget this matter. The Armenians must not be expected to say that they "will forget the genocide." Nevertheless, the establishment of favorable and deeply- rooted relations and the easing of the feelings of insecurity in bilateral relations may pave the ground for positive steps on this question. The Armenian Administration does not want the establishment of relations to be obstructed by the genocide question. That is why we have proposed the establishment of economic relations first. Only after that would we move on to other matters. We must not be expected to regress by agreeing to give a written guarantee on the question of genocide now.

[Yilmaz] Reports say that you have invited President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel to visit Yerevan.

[Ter-Petrosyan] I have not extended an official invitation to them. I said that the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries would be a favorable development. Armenia and Turkey reached an agreement calling for talks between their foreign ministers. The prime ministers of the two countries would have met after the meeting of the two foreign ministers. The presidents would also have met later. Unfortunately, none of this has happened due to Turkey's approach. We understand that the Turkish Government has to consider the Turkish public opinion's sensitivity. That also applies to us. Nevertheless, I am convinced that a meeting between Armenian and Turkish officials would be useful, it would help us to better understand each other and improve our relations.

[Yilmaz] What effect has the Karabakh problem had on the establishment of relations between Turkey and Armenia?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Ankara's recent disclosures have proven that Turkey has become a side to the Karabakh dispute. Nevertheless, we continue to say that we wish to improve our relations with Turkey. Ankara, however, has not responded favorably. We have disclosed that we will support the initiatives to be made by Turkey and other countries on the Karabakh problem. Turkey, however, has not yet made an official proposal to act as a mediator. We would have accepted a proposal by Ankara in that regard. We are convinced that the Karabakh problem must not be internationalized. The problem is a regional matter; that is, it is between Azerbaijan and the Karabakh administration. Regional countries may help them find a way to solve the problem. Armenia is one of these countries. We are prepared to accept any agreement that the Karabakh administration and the Azerbaijani Government reach.

[Yilmaz] The latest CSCE decision agrees that Karabakh belongs to Azerbaijan and that the Armenians there are a minority community. What is your opinion on this decision?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We have nothing to say on the matter. The right of self-determination in the Karabakh region must not be overlooked. The solution needs to be found by the Karabakh administration and Azerbaijan. The CSCE decision does not say that the Armenians in Karabakh do not have the right to self-determination. I can categorically say that Armenia does not covet any part of Karabakh. We believe that the most favorable solution can be found by respecting the wishes of the people in Karabakh. A move has been to call a cease-fire in Karabakh. We hope that the sides will comply with it to stop the bloodshed.

Airborne Regiment Lays Foundation for Army

NC2403185792 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Mar (ARMENPRES)—March 22 will go down in the history of the Armenian people as the day the Armenian national army was created. The formal oath-taking ceremony of 120 new recruits for the first Airborne-Assault Regiment of the Defense Ministry of the Armenian Republic took place on that day on the military grounds in Nubarashen near Yerevan. With the ceremony, the foundations were laid for the Armenian army. This regiment will not enter the CIS Joint Armed Forces structure and will be subordinate only to the Armenian president and the Defense Ministry.

The ceremony was also significant because for the first time in 70 years, Armenian soldiers took their oath in their mother tongue and in front of their national flag.

Lieutenant Colonel A. Petrosyan was appointed commander of the regiment. Staff officers received their training in the former Soviet Army. Henceforth they will place their knowledge at the service of the native population to defend a free and independent Armenia against foreign encroachments.

Another part of the ceremony was new: The young men who took the oath to serve the fatherland selflessly were blessed by father superior of St. Sargis Church, Ter-Hovhannes Marukyan.

Deputy Defense Minister A. Kocharyan and Colonel A. Martirosyan were present at the ceremony.

Resolution Seen as Takeover of 7th Army

PM2003124992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 3

[Report by correspondents Senior Lieutenant V. Denisov and Major K. Litvinov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "From the Transcaucasus: 7th Army Focus of Armenian Interest"]

[Text] 18 Mar—The Republic of Armenia Supreme Soviet has passed a resolution "On Enhancing Requirements for the Safeguarding of Military Property Allocated to Military Units on the Territory of the Republic." It says that, pending the conclusion of a relevant state agreement within the CIS framework, the Republic Supreme Soviet resolves to ban the removal of military property, equipment, arms, and munitions from the Republic or their transfer without the Armenian leadership's consent. The Republic Defense and Internal Affairs Ministries are charged with ensuring that the resolution is implemented.

Armenia thus is essentially taking over the 7th Army, which is stationed in the Republic, although this decision hardly can be described as a surprise—the "nationalization" of units of the CIS Joint Armed Forces has been in preparation a long time. The introduction of Armenian Defense Ministry staffers as observers in each unit showed this, for example.

Judging by statements in the press, Armenia apparently is not claiming its own share of the Commonwealth Army, and nothing is being said openly about "privatizing" the Army, but even the most optimistic forecast cannot ignore the fact that Armenia's Armed Forces could be "boosted" in the near future primarily by the weapons and munitions of the 7th Army.

Commission on Economic Crisis Meets 23 Mar

NC2503133492 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Statement issued by the Armenian Government's Press Service; place, date not given]

[Text] The government commission on ensuring the vital activities of the republic under conditions of economic blockade met on 23 March under the State Minister Ruben Chiftalaryan. The participants were briefed about the energy and fuel situation, which remain tense. The republic has not received gasoline and diesel fuel for the last three weeks. The railroad passing through Georgia is not working and Azerbaijan has begun a new blockade. They are letting freight cars through selectively and are completely pillaging foodstuffs and holding back cars carrying gasoline and diesel. The amount of fuel oil received is negligible. For the time being energy needs are being met to some decree by gas coming through Georgia. Most of this gas is given to the thermal power stations and industrial enterprises.

Azerbaijan is violating the agreement signed with Turkmenistan by placing new conditions on allowing gas destined for Armenia to come through.

The participants discussed a number of measures to ensure the republic's vital activities in the industry, construction, transportation and communications, consumer economy, and health sectors. A mechanism to oversee the plan's implementation was also worked out.

The relevant ministries and departments were instructed to put forward ideas on how to transport fuel differently and to exert efforts to increase the amount of gas coming through Georgia.

It was noted that in addition to these measures, it is necessary to organize the economic activity and adjust the people's psychology to the current situation.

Cash Shortage Limits Financial Transactions

NC2203180192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] The Armenian Communications Ministry [as heard] issued a statement saying that financial transactions and payments to the population have been restricted due to a shortage of cash in Armenia. Transfers shall not exceed 500 rubles; any amount over that will be (?deposited) in the recipient's account. It is also prohibited to accept transfers exceeding 500 rubles.

The ministry noted that these restrictions were introduced on the basis of mutual agreement with Russia.

Azerbaijan

CSCE Plans Conference on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2403194792 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Vukolov and Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki March 24 (TASS)—After discussing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO], the CSCE Council of Ministers today decided to convene an international conference on the settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

The conference will be held in the near future in Minsk and attract representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Sweden, Italy, the United States, Russia, Turkey and France.

Elected and other representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh will be invited by the conference chairman as interested sides after consultations with the states-participants.

The Council of Ministers called for an immediate and efficient cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh as well as urged all sides to the conflict to show restraint.

In the opinion of the Council of Ministers, the CSCE must play an important role in the development of peace process. Acting head of the CSCE Council of Ministers Jiri Dienstbier has been instructed to visit the region in the near future to contribute to the achievement and upkeep of the efficient cease-fire, as well as the creation of framework for a comprehensive peaceful settlement.

Baku 'Ready' To Recognize Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2503044892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Azerbaijan is ready to recognize Nagorno-Karabakh's local autonomy under the condition that the authorities of that territo retain Azerbaijan's laws. This was stated in Baku by Guseynaga Sadykhov, the republic's minister of foreign affairs. He was commenting on the decision by the Council of Ministers of the CSCE to convene an international conference in Minsk on settling the conflict.

Iran Continues Mission To Uphold Cease-Fire

LD2503131492 Tehran IRNA in English 1152 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Tehran, March 25, IRNA—Iran's special envoy Mahmud Va'ezi arrived in Baku from Yerevan last night and reviewed reports on three instances of ceasefire violations at Agdam, Khankendy and Shusha in the Karabakh region, with Azerbaijan's Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov and acting President Yakub Mamedov

Va'ezi who is deputy foreign minister for Euro-American affairs, also conferred with Armenian officials on the telephone and suggested measures for preventing cease-fire violations in the future.

The two warring republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan who upon Iranian mediation agreed to suspend hostilities last Friday [20 March], have declared their willingness to exchange prisoners through international organizations such as the Red Cross.

Va'ezi and the Azerbaijani officials also agreed to increase aid to the people in Karabakh and in Armenia through the territory of the Azerbaijan republic.

Violation Said in Stepanakert

LD2403193992 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 24 (TASS)—Azeri militants resumed shelling of the Nagorno-Karabakh capital of Stepanakert from the "Grad" missile launchers at 05.00 P.M. local time [1500 GMT], thus violating the cease fire agreement, which came into effect on March 20.

Nagorno-Karabakh Interior Ministry officials told ITAR-TASS by telephone 25 missiles were launched on Stepanakert from the Azeri town of Shusha as of 07.00 P.M. local time. The number of casualties is not yet clear. Serious damage was reported.

The Nagorno-Karabakh parliamentary officials told ITAR-TASS Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi, who is controlling the cease fire in the region, was informed of the violation. The Nagorno-Karabakh authorities placed responsibility on the Azerbaijani side.

Soldiers Taken Hostage in Armenian Attack

LD2403204992 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev—TASS]

[Text] Baku March 24 TASS—Seven servicemen were taken hostage in an attack of Armenian militants at the Gadrut border unit in Nagorno-Karabakh, sources at the Azeri National Security Ministry's press center report.

During the on-spot negotiations with representatives of the Transcaucasian Border District, the Armenian side promised to free the hostages on March 25 demanding in return combustibles, lubricants, ammunition and armoured vehicles.

More on Armenian Attacks

NC2403203192 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs press service has reported that the towns of (Avlan-Dzhiladly) and [name indistinct], Agdamskiy Rayon, were fired on by armed Armenian units from the direction of Khodzhaly and Khodzhavendskiy Rayons on 24 March. The towns sustained damage. The republic's self-defense forces and law enforcement agencies returned the fire, silencing the occupying forces.

The Azerbaijan Popular Front Information Center reports that armed Armenian units launched a rocket attack on the town of Divanallar, Fizulinskiy Rayon, on 24 March. Three people were wounded.

Ershad Mamedov, an assistant to the head of the Kazakhskiy Rayon Executive Authority, has informed an AZERINFORM correspondent that the Armenians launched an artillery attack on [name indistinct], Kazakhskiy Rayon, on the night of 23-24 March. [passage indistinct]

Minister Calls For 'Extraordinary Powers'

NC2403193392 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session resumed its work today. Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Yakub Mamedov chaired the session. After a short debate, the deputies approved the session's agenda. The following matters were included on the agenda: the situation in the mountainous region in Karabakh, the social and political situation in the republic, the presidential system in Azerbaijan, the changes to Article 152 of the Constitution, and the naming of Azerbaijan's national hero.

Takhir Aliyev, minister of internal affairs and a member of the Azerbaijan Popular Front; Ragim Kaziyev, minister of defense and a member of the Azerbaijan Popular Front; El'man Mamedov, head of the Khodzhaly City Executive Authority; and Musa Mamedov, the president's representative on the Karabakh region; briefed the people's deputies on the situation in Karabakh and the republic's rayons which border Armenia.

Aliyev said that resolving the current situation under the existing conditions without mobilizing all the republic's forces is impossible. Adding to the views expressed by Aliyev, Defense Minister Kaziyev said that extraordinary powers must be given to the Ministry of Defense and to other pertinent ministries. The armed groups, which were illegally established, must be disbanded and the military equipment and arms the criminal elements possess must be collected. Resolving the existing situation before peace is established within the republic is impossible.

El'man Mamedov said that whoever is responsible for the tragic situation in Khodzhaly must be subjected to a public trial. The pertinent agencies, from the president to the Agdamskiy Rayon Executive Authority, were informed repeatedly about the situation. The victims in Khodzhaly [words indistinct]. Their blood must be avenged. Mamedov called for the Supreme Soviet to make a decision on the tragic situation of the refugees from Khodzhaly.

People's Deputies Dzhebrail Nabiyev, A. Kurbanov, S. Mamedov, S. Guseynov, [name indistinct], N. Mamedov, G. Zeynalov, Allakhshukyur Pasha-zade, and others also addressed the session. I. Khamidov told the deputies that more than 100 million rubles allocated for the refugees has been used for other purposes in accordance with instructions issued by various officials. He also stressed [words indistinct] in the republic.

Although the deputies who addressed the session focused on the situation in Karabakh, they found it difficult to put forward concrete proposals and deviated from the subject from time to time.

Officers' Families To Evacuate Gadrutskiy

LD2403232792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] The remaining 17 families of officers belonging to the 42d Border Detachment are to be brought out of Gadrutskiy Rayon in southern Nagorno-Karabakh this week. Colonel Yuriy Medvedev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasian Military District, reported this to the SNARK agency's Tbilisi correspondent.

Nakhichevan Leader Visits Turkey, Meets Leaders

LD2403115892 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chelyshev]

[Text] Istanbul March 24 TASS—Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic Geydar Aliyev, who arrived here on Monday [23 March], had talks with Turkish President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel.

According to the ANATOLIAN news service, the sides discussed the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and possible ways to settle the conflict. Aliyev informed Turkish leaders about his talks with Armenian officials on a ceasefire in Karabakh.

Turkish presidential press secretary Kaya Toperi said that during Aliyev's meeting with Ozal the sides had discussed, in addition to the Karabakh problem, the expansion of Turkey's technological and economic aid to the autonomous republic.

The status of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic was also discussed during Aliyev's meeting with Prime Minister Demirel. The latter stressed that "Turkey was not indifferent to the attempts of external forces to alter the status of Nakhichevan and would render the republic all-out support," the newspaper "CUMHURIYET" reported today.

According to the head of the Turkish cabinet, Aliyev is paying a private visit to Turkey.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia TV Appeal Calls For Bloodshed

LD2503133892 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Georgian Television has shown a videotape of an appeal by former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, copies of which are illegally being circulated among his supporters.

The former leader of the republic calls on his supporters to continue the struggle for his return to Georgia. He also agitates for destabilization to be continued by means of mass demonstrations, something which, according to him, is favored by the spring weather.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia believes that blood should be shed and it should be blamed on Eduard Shevardnadze. The screening of this appeal by official television is evidently aimed at dispelling the aura of secrecy around him.

CIS Troop Withdrawal To Take 'Five Years'

OW2503123692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1248 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] If the decision is taken to withdraw the troops of the Trans-Caucasian military district from Georgia, the withdrawal will last at least five years, Lieutenant-General Sufiyan Beppayev, First Deputy-Commander of the Trans-Caucasian military district, told IF [INTERFAX].

There are no plans to pass armaments to Georgia to form up Georgian national forces, he said. "Georgia will possibly purchase part of the armaments," he said," but as long as the troops remain here, there can be no talk about the transfer of armaments."

Recruitment for Army To Begin Apr, May

OW2503130992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1248 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent has been told in the Georgian Defense Ministry that recruitment for 10,000-strong Georgian armed forces will begin this April or May. Conscription is to be introduced for men between the ages of 18 and 25. In the next few days the State Council is planning to make decisions on the financing and arming of the forces, and to formulate the basic principles for the republic's military policy.

CIS Ties Said Important To Solving 'Crisis'

LD2403213892 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 24 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—It is practically impossible for Georgia to overcome the current crisis without the development of close mutually beneficial relations with Russia and other CIS member-states, a delegation of Georgian public told a news conference here today.

The topic of the news conference was the results of their negotiations with Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, and Russian parliament members.

Irakliy Surguladze, Georian deputy prime minister and delegation head, told the news conference that historical relations between Georgia and Russia must be developed and the draft treaty on the basis of mutual relations is a proof to it.

Member of the Georgian State Council Professor Nodar Lomauri added they discussed the situation in Southern Ossetia when meeting the Russian parliamentarians. The Georgian side calls for the solution of the conflict only be peaceful means.

Estimating the situation in Georgia itself, the delegation members voiced an opinion the arrival of Eduard Shevardnadze revied hopes of the majority of Georgian residents for the improvement of the situation in the republic.

It was stressed the relations with servicemen of the former Soviet army have recently improved. There are no problems in relations with them now.

Shevardnadze Assesses Situation, Goals

LD2503103792 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 25 Mar 92

["Eduard Shevardnadze: What I Fear Most Is Anarchy and Chaos"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 25 ITAR-TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, who now heads the State Council of the Georgian Republic, told MOSCOW NEWS of his present assessment of his move to Georgia. "My decision to return to Georgia in the capacity of a politician was a result of reasoning, cool and thorough. For a politician it was a risky move, probably erroneous," Shevardnadze said.

"If I succeed in securing stabilisation of the situation in Georgia and an end to bloodshed, after which we hope to begin peaceful construction," the former Soviet foreign minister said, "I will regard it as a contribution to big-time politics. According to Shevardnadze, who headed the republican Communist Party for many years, his meetings with inhabitants of Tbilisi, visits to enterprises and farming areas enable him to say that he has enough support to accomplish the task.

Touching upon prospects for Western credits to Georgia, Shevardnadze said that there are no specific credit projects. He has only had consultations with different groups of business people. Along with this, Shevardnadze believes that Georgia is favourably located geopolitically and is of great interest to foreign investors.

Shevardnadze blamed the ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia for establishing a totalitarian regime in the republic. But "if Gamsakhurdia is found not guilty, as a man, as any citizen he is entitled to take part in the future parliamentary elections", he added.

The State Council set up in March was described by Shevardnadze as "a transitional stage towards democratic parliamentary elections" which are due to be held "not later than in October this year" and which must be prepared "in conditions of stability, without a curfew", according to Shevardnadze.

The State Council chairman said that the status of Armed Forces and the withdrawal of troops from Georgia should be tackled within the framework of "a comprehensive inter-state agreement between Russia and Georgia". It must be done so as "not to do harm to tens of thousands of servicemen residing here", he said.

As regards the situation in the Caucasus, Shevardnadze stressed that it is "very grave and the tendencies are unfavourable". "If no extraordinary measures are taken promptly, the process of liquidation of the Caucasus is imminent," he said.

According to him, "most people in Georgia are critical of the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States".

Warns of 'Lebanonization'

LD2503095192 Hamburg DPA in German 0002 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Tbilisi (DPA)—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, believes the preparation and organization of parliamentary elections is his most important political task in the Caucasus republic. In a DPA interview, his first with the foreign media since his return to Tbilisi, the former Soviet foreign minister said on Tuesday [25 March]: "I see myself as the coordinator between the various political parties." However, nothing has been decided with regard to his own candidacy in the elections planned to be held before October.

Eduard Shevardnadze, who was formerly the leader of Georgia's Communist Party for 13 years, and who was elected as the chairman of the four-strong State Council two weeks ago, describes the current situation in the country as "chaos and anarchy." "The state has no budget. Living conditions are worsening with every passing day. Trains are not running. Bridges are blown up. That is frightening." The forces of law and order are totally disorganized and demoralized. Therefore, Shevardnadze demands: "The police and the state prosecutors must get back their normal rights. The National Guard and other armed persons must return to barracks."

In light of the numerous conflicts in the region, the former Soviet foreign minister warned of a "Lebanonization of the Caucasus." It is time that a permanent consultative council of the Caucasus republics is established on a head of state level, Shevardnadze stressed. He called for dates to be set for the withdrawal of the Army of the CIS. However, this should happen in such a way that the tens of thousands of soldiers who live in the Caucasus do not have to suffer as a result.

In the interview, Shevardnadze denies reports claiming he obtained foreign credits worth billions [not further specified] for Georgia. Talks with various groups of foreign businessmen have merely taken place. "I am convinced we will find partners who are interested," said Shevardnadze, who hopes to make Georgia a center between East and West.

Shevardnadze describes his return to Georgian politics as a "risky step, perhaps even a mistake for me as a politician." But, in light of the impending collapse of his home country, his personal fate had to come second.

He lives in a government residence to be safe from terrorist attacks. "Numerous guards with machine guns would have had to stand guard in front of my home, and this could have provoked annoyance among the people."

Conflict, Health Problems in South Ossetia

LD2403173492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 24 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 24 March (TASS)—According to information from the Information Center's press center, last night passed in a state of unrest for the inhabitants of South Ossetia. Housing areas of Tskhinvali and checkpoints of the internal troops have been shelled from the nearby villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Ergneti, and Prisi. No reports on casualties of the shelling have been received. Ossetian self-defense units have mounted return fire to suppress the firing positions.

According to intelligence reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the South Osssetian Republic, fighters supporting ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia are firing on the distant approaches to Tskhinvali. Their uncontrolled actions are aimed at disrupting the positive processes which have been discerned in the social and political situation in the republic, and at breaking off possible talks between the Ossetian republic and plenipotentiary representatives of the Georgian government.

"However, at the present time we are worried—perhaps more than by the shelling—by the sanitary and epidemiological situation in the administrative center," Torez Kulumbekov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the South Ossetian Republic, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. "The hospital in Tskhinvali is overflowing with people suffering from dysentary—more than 160 people are currently registered as such. It is not known how many sick people are at home. Doctors consider the cause of the deterioration in the epidemiological situation to be the stoppages in the operation of the main water pipe and the intensive melting of the snow on the mountain slopes: the water in local springs is very polluted. The situation is complicated by the fact that there is a catastrophic shortage of medicines and special vaccines."

At the same time economic problems and matters of essential services are still acute in Tskhinvali. All of the surrounding roads via which foodstuffs reached the administrative center from Vladikavkaz are contolled by the Georgian side. The Dzhaba-Tskhinvali route can only be travelled on if escorted by armored vehicles and subunits of the internal forces.

State Council Member Views Republic's Status

AU2503125692 Tbilisi NOVAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 3 Mar 92 p 4

[Article by Ivlian Khaindrava, member of the Republic of Georgia State Council, leader of the Union of Free Democrats: "Where Are We Living?"]

[Text] **Respected reader, have you not tried asking yourself the question: What is Georgia today? What should it be called? A republic? A country? A state? Excuse me for such a definition but I believe that Georgia today is a territory. A territory on which one only has to create a state with all its attributes. What are my arguments? Here they are.**

Many countries have recognized Georgia de facto and this process is continuing. Indeed, the USSR no longer exists, the frontiers between its former republics (and not only internal) are beginning to acquire real meaning; consequently, a specific territory has appeared on the map of the world throughout which the sovereignty of the peoples of Georgia extends. However, almost no one is hurrying to recognize us de jure and this is understandable. As yet, there is no such single organ of power that could fully exercise its jurisdiction on the whole territory of Georgia and be recognized as such everywhere. The creation of the State Council and the subordination of military authorities to civilian ones is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, one taken to normalize the situation. However, the former president has not been slow to take a retaliatory step as only he knows best: He has organized in Groznyy a gathering of ex-deputies from among the aggressively obedient majority and clearly confirmed his intention to continue to hinder the normalization of the situation.

True, after the Military Council recognized the Constitution of 1921 as the sole legal document on whose basis the vital activity of the country would be ensured, both the ex-president and the Military Council found themselves not only out of the game so-to-speak but also outside the law. However, how realistic is it to implement the Fundamental Law that was hurriedly adopted in the face of aggression 71 years ago and formally in force for only four days? Add to this the fact that in Adzharia, for example, there is the Constitution of the Adzharian Autonomous Republic and the Supreme Council in Abkhazia is guided by the Constitution of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Republic!

What about the situation in that part of Georgia that some people call the former South Ossetia, some Samachablo, some a part of Shida Kartli, some the Tskhinvali rayon, and some simply South Ossetia and about which there is no mention at all in the 1921 Constitution? However, the area exists and so does the problem! Under whose real jurisdiction is this area today?

A curious situation has also taken shape within Georgia's higher organs of power. The Military Council appointed T. Sigua as acting head of the Provisional Government. Then, the head of the Provisional Government appointed the head of the Military Council as his first deputy. Then, these two along with the chairman of the State Council and his deputy formed the State Council Presidium uniting the representatives of both legislative and executive power. The organ is in itself unique although wholly reasonable proceeding from today's realities. Only will it be sufficiently balanced and viable?

One of the bases of a state is its armed forces. I will not deny that there are armaments, be they good or bad, many or few. There are also forces. However, there is no army as such. True, there is a ministry of defense with its minister and deputy. However, those armed forces that exist in reality are precisely not subordinate to this defense minister. In practice, various formations are subordinate to different commanders. Accordingly, their actions are uncoordinated. Thank God that the commanders get on with each other. For the moment, at least....

One should not forget that the Army of the former USSR has also not disappeared anywhere and is awaiting a comprehensive resolution of its problem, one that has been weighed most carefully and thought through to the last detail. It is also no real secret that local combat detachments have been formed legally or illegally in separate regions more or less far removed from Tbilisi that are under a local command. What kind of place (if any?) will be allocated to them in a system of single armed forces is also a key question.

Total chaos reigns in the sphere of local government. Sakrebulos [assemblies] are functioning in some places, gamgeobas [boards] in others; plenipotentiaries have been appointed in some places, gamgeoba chairmen in others, and in certain places they have been elected. Moreover, one part of the population has elected a plenipotentiary and another part a gamgeoba chairman and neither side is willing to back down. Therefore, the result is diarchy, triarchy, or, in most cases, anarchy or, what is even worse, an armed struggle for power at the local level. Whoever has a weapon in his hands rules.

Against this background that offers little comfort, voices are being frequently heard: Where are the law enforcement organs? Where is the militia? Where is the KGB? Where is the procuracy? Indeed, the law enforcement organs are called upon, in the first instance, to ensure law and order. However, how can they ensure this when there is no law on the procuracy, no law on the militia (police), and no law on the security service (KGB)? On what basis should the law enforcement organs act if they don't have the minimal legal base beneath them? If the spheres of their activity and limits of their jurisdiction are not clearly defined? If those in authority who give orders over the phone do not intend to surrender their positions? The law enforcement organs that, in their present form, undoubtedly require radical reorganization are a most important component of state structures. However, given that there is no state, there can be no genuine law enforcement organs and vice versa.

What we have is a vicious circle. If there are no structures, there can be no state. If the state does not exist, there can be no state structures. Moreover, this applies not only in the sphere of the organs of power but also in the economy. The transfer of land into private hands? Fine. Destatization and privatization? Marvelous. However, how can this be done without legislation on private property or antimonopoly legislation or a law on citizenship?

One can always refer to one's difficult inheritance. It is indeed difficult. However, our misfortune does not lie in this alone. No matter how much we boast about our two-thousand year history of statehood, our valiant forefathers, our glorious Christian history, and our marvelous traditions, it is time we understood that all this is past and gone. For 200 years, with the exception of the short period between 1918 and 1921, we have not had a state. We have been pseudo-Christians for 100 years. Our traditions have been deprived of their inner meaning and have been transformed into the empty scarecrow of self-identification. Our closest ancestors are Berbichashvili [supposed assassin of Ilya Chavchavadze (1837-1907), eminent Georgian writer and co-leader of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement] Ordzhonikidze [chief of the Caucasian bureau of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); played a major role in the establishment of Soviet power in the Transcaucasus in 1922], and Beria [chief of Stalin's secret police] while Gamsakhurdia is our most illustrious contemporary.

Fortunately, during this time, there were also surges of our national spirit to the very heights of world civilization and culture: in the spheres of art, science, literature, and sport. However, we have stopped thinking and acting as a state. For a long time we have not conducted our own policy. We have lost the necessity of having our own diplomats.

All this has to be created anew. It would be a blessing if there was a clear field ahead of us for our activities. However, the territory of Georgia is littered with the massive debris of imperial and totalitarian structures. It is up to all of us to clear away these obstructions. Together, as we have already tried to entrust this to one person but he has only further blocked up all the entrances and exits because he attempted to restore what existed in the past and what cannot exist today. In order to cope with the tasks facing us, we must rid ourselves of stereotypes, seek and find solutions that are not simple ones, and understand what has changed around us in all the world during the time that we did not have a state. I am certain that it is possible to create a vigorous state today only on the basis of agreement and not repression.

Estonia

Foreign Minister Meri Submits Resignation

LD2303155892 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Prime Minister Tiit Vahi opened a news conference after the republican government's session with the announcement about an important change envisaged in the government staff.

[Begin Vahi recording] Over the weekend—perhaps even at the end of last week—we received an application addressed to me: a request from our foreign minister, Mr Lennart Meri, to be released from his post. We discussed this today with our government members. Lennart Meri has done good work in the sphere of foreign politics both in the previous and the present government but we have nevertheless decided that we will evidently support his application. However, this—his release—will not take place today or tomorrow, but only through more consultations with Mr Lennart Meri will we decide at which time it would be most suitable. We will also look at the issue of candidates for the job, and undoubtedly we will inform the Supreme Council both of our resolution on release and [word indistinct] candidates [passage indistinct]. I believe that in the course of the week the issue will advance considerably. [end recording]

Official Confirms Radiation Levels Normal

LD2403140392 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 24 Mar 92

["Official" statement by (Ants Roop), deputy director general of the Estonian rescue department—live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with the accident in the technical channel of the third reactor at the nuclear power station in Sosnovyy Bor, Leningrad Oblast, the faulty reactor has been shut down and is now in the cooling stage, which will take three weeks. The person on duty at the Estonian rescue department is in regular contact with the nuclear power station at Sosnovyy Bor, as well as with the city of St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Oblast civil defense duty staff.

According to them, the radiation levels at the power station and in the vicinity are normal and amounts to that of everyday natural background. There is no leakage of isotopes from the reactor.

Continuous monitoring of the radiation background is taking place in Estonia in order to prevent anything unexpected from happening. Estonian hydrometeorology stations measure radiation levels every hour; rescue services in districts and republican towns measure the radiation six times in any 24-hour period. Continuous measuring of the radiation level also is taking place in health centers in the towns of Narva and Kohtla-Jarve and at the republican health center—they used to be called sanitary-epidemiological stations. All necessary metereological data are being continuously monitored.

At noon the level of radiation in Narva and Kohtla-Jarve amounted to 17 micro-roentgens an hour. In Tallinn it was 13 micro-roentgens an hour. That amounts to the usual natural background in these locations. In the event there is the slightest increase in the level of radiation, we will inform the population of this through all information channels, with any necessary instructions for action.

Officials Leave For Narva

LD2503112892 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Excerpt] [Words indistinct] at the Sosnovyy Bor nuclear power station. The Estonian Government has charged Harri Hein, director general of the state rescue service with the task of going to Narva to investigate the situation for himself. Tonis Kaasik, environment minister, and Robert Narska, minister of internal affairs, are also going to Narva by order of Premier Tiit Vahi.

The government press service reports that the atmosphere over Estonia is being constantly monitored and that the population will be kept informed via the mass media.

Minister Sees Threat by Soviet Troops

AU2203193992 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1005 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Interview with Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri by Guenter Muechler in Tallinn; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Muechler] Mr. Meri, just like the other Baltic states, Estonia depends on the terminally ill ruble, and foreign troops are deployed in your country. Does Estonia's independence exist only on paper?

[Meri] Yes and no. Theoretically, Estonia has always been independent. Estonia's annexation and occupation has never been acknowledged by the West. However, you are right. We are on the 10th floor now. If I look out of the window, I can almost show you the barracks that are still held by the Soviets. This means that Soviet troops could reach our parliament within 15 minutes.

[Muechler] Does the Estonian Government know how many foreign soldiers—soldiers of the former Red Army—are deployed here?

[Meri] I believe that we know certain things. However, our knowledge has been obtained in the way of popular tradition. We have no dialogue with the Soviets, and, thus, we have no exact or official figures. But there is a center in Europe that is very interested in the reduction of troops in this eastern region. The figures that we received most recently from there are much higher than assumed so far in the West. A total of 130,000 soldiers are involved.

[Muechler] In Estonia?

[Meri] No, in the three Baltic republics.

[Muechler] In Paldiski, the former Baltic Port, the Baltic Fleet allegedly possesses two nuclear reactors, and six depots with chemical weapons are also believed to exist in Estonia. Do you have official information on that, or do you have to rely on speculations or foreign estimates in this sphere, too?

[Meri] After Estonia joined the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, we received an official letter in connection with the so-called nuclear object in Baltic Port. We took this step as recently as in December to exert pressure in this respect. The Soviets addressed an official reply to Vienna, and we received information from Vienna, which, however, was not really very revealing. A few days later we received a letter in Russian containing some proposals which seem very dubious to us. The letter mentioned a training center for the nuclear submarines of the high-seas fleet. As far as I know, there are no nuclear submarines of the type mentioned—Typhoon, if I am not mistaken—an enormous submarine with a length of 170 meters, in the Baltic Sea. According to our information, the Soviet Fleet maintains a training center in Paldiski of all places, which is quite strange. A submarine of the above type with reactors exists there. We would like to get rid of these nuclear objects, of these reactors, as quickly as possible. On 12 January we received a reply from a Soviet admiral that, unfortunately, the Soviets are not in a position to remove the reactors, that Estonia must build a small railway line, and that the uranium fuel rods must be cooled down, and so on. We are quite familiar with the technology. This is not the problem.

[Muechler] It is difficult to define the character and the purpose of the former Soviet Armed Forces in the Baltic republics. History...

[Meri, interrupting] I think you are incorrect. I am sorry to interrupt you. However, the West believes that the former Soviet Army is generally disintegrating. This may be true. It may be the case somewhere in northern Caucasus, in Russia, or Central Asia. However, this is not true in the Baltic states. It may have been true five or even three years ago. You did not arrive just one hour ago. You also walked around in the streets. How many Soviet soldiers did you see here in the streets at the end of February?

[Muechler] I saw a great number.

[Meri] What did they do?

[Muechler] They promenaded.

[Meri] Exactly. I believe that one can assume that the discipline of the soldiers has improved and not deteriorated during the past few months. In view of the general decline, one must ask how much energy is needed to ensure a better condition of the Soviet troops here than anywhere else in the whole of Russia. You see, I have a great number of very small details that may not be interesting for you. However, the overall development is a cause of concern for me. One has the feeling that the Soviet troops want to gain time here. They would like to stay here as long as possible.

[Muechler] Would you say that this is still an occupation force?

[Meri] Yes, of course. There is no legal basis for it whatsoever.

[Muechler] Where do you see a specific threat in connection with the presence of foreign troops in your country? Are you afraid that some generals might stage a coup, for example?

[Meri] Yes, of course. You know, history never repeats itself in exactly the same way. Thus, two episodes in history are never as identical as two 10-mark coins. In December, Russia stopped the deliveries of fuel oil to our country. You can imagine what it means for a town of 500 million people—which is Tallinn's population at this point—if it is no longer possible to heat apartments in the winter. This means that the water pipes burst in one or two days, that the central heating bursts, and it becomes impossible for us to view our state as a place where we can live. Most Estonians still have relatives in the villages. Thus, an unprecedented evacuation of the civilian population might take place.

However, we also have a Russian minority in Tallinn that was brought to Estonia from all parts of Russia to establish a Russian majority here. They have no roots at all here. This might give rise to social unrest. You can easily imagine that social unrest among the Russian population might be used as a pretext by the Soviet troops to intervene.

[Muechler] The question arises in this connection as to what goals the Russians pursue with their policies. Is there a consistent policy on the part of Moscow at the moment? There is no doubt that Yeltsin supported the Baltic republics in their independence efforts—at least during certain periods. Still, you do not trust him.

[Meri] You know, it is difficult to establish a link between certain tendencies and specific persons. I have been talking about tendencies, statistics, and probabilities. It is always difficult to speak about a specific person who has his own pride, his hatred, hopes and fears, a person who has a wife and children.

Perestroyka that was so immensely popular in Germany and still is, I believe, was not a manifestation of God. It was a reform movement that started 70 years too late. However, its goal was very clear to us Estonians. Perestroyka was not aimed at building a modern Europe here in the East. It was designed to hold the empire together.

[Muechler] You once said that the vacuum that resulted from the collapse of communism may quickly be filled

with old aspiration for a Greater Russia. Does this mean for the Baltic states that Moscow's imperialist policy has not really changed?

[Meri] Russia is one and one-half times bigger than the three Baltic states together [as heard]. Thus, we have to be careful with symbols. In my view, at least two different parties exist: a so-called imperialist party whose aim is to establish a greater Russia. I can imagine that the 7,000 Soviet generals belong to this party. There is also another party, a democratic party, that has realized that things can not continue in the old way, that has realized that Western Europe has something that is missing in Russia, and that is desperately seeking a way out. Unfortunately, there is not much time left in Russia to find a way out. Demagogues exploit this situation. The representatives of the greater Russian vision probably stand a certain chance now.

[Muechler] Mr. Meri, Estonia is a weak state from an objective viewpoint. However, like Latvia and Lithuania, Estonia is a member of the NATO Cooperation Council. Russia is also a member. Should NATO exert pressure on Moscow to ensure the withdrawal of the troops?

[Meri] Yes, you are right.

[Muechler] Is NATO doing enough in your view?

[Meri] No. Nothing is ever enough to improve the world. The world will never be good enough. However, we have arrived at an historic turning point. If chances are wasted now, a new tendency might be initiated—a tendency against the Baltic states, because, as you said, the Baltic republics are the weakest link in the chain. A breakthrough against the imperialist process is needed.

[Muechler] Do you have the impression that the interest of Western politicians in developments in the Baltic states is constantly decreasing because they are turning to other problems?

[Meri] Yes, I think so. I believe that this is partly due to the fact that Western politicians are dependent on the Western media and that the Western media are not interested in analyses but in events. Thus, if we tell them that there is an intercontinental object at the headquarters of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party, the mass media of the whole world will again be interested in us, and we will again be in the headlines. Unfortunately, the politicians depend on the press.

[Muechler] Estonia plans to establish its own border troops. Can this be more than a symbolic measure?

[Meri] Yes, I think so.

[Muechler] Why do you think they are necessary?

[Meri] Just look at Finland. Finland has a border. This does not mean that Finland has positioned tanks at 500-meter intervals at the border. However, the border exists. Despite the fact that it is a symbolic aspect, it works. [sentence as heard] One must show a certain willingness. If this is the case, symbolism is also powerful.

[Muechler] The Estonian Government has requested Bonn to help Estonia establish its border troops, by supplying material—uniforms from the stocks of the former National People's Army of the GDR, for example. Bonn declined to comply with this request, arguing that weapons must not be sent to crisis regions according to German law. Do you understand this position?

[Meri] Let me quote you. About five minutes ago, I asked you whether you saw Soviet troops in Tallinn. You answered that they parade here in the streets. Is this a sign of a crisis?

[Muechler] Thus, you have little understanding for Bonn's rejection?

[Meri] There is no crisis in Estonia. We have a different crisis. The hotels are full of tourists. However, this is no crisis that would make it impossible to supply, donate, or sell weapons to the border troops.

[Muechler] What role should the FRG play in your view? Should the FRG act as a mediator in connection with attempts by the Baltic states to establish closer constitutional ties with Europe, the EC, and—in the long run—with NATO? Should Bonn assume the function of a bridge?

[Meri] Yes, of course. Bonn for its part hopes that Estonia will play the same role, the role of a bridge. I can assure you that we will assume this role, because our geopolitical situation dictates this role. This may be the only role with which we are more familiar than anybody else in this world that has become so small. Germany may occasionally have domestic problems. However, abandoning the Baltic card because it has hardly any value may be a big mistake. If a negative tendency should win the upper hand in Russia, it will be difficult to determine the limits of this tendency. A tendency has no limits. The Baltic states will be the first victims. The Ukraine is another problem. A conflict with the Islamic states may also break out at a certain point. Afghanistan may be a minor issue in comparison with that. This tendency will lead to a final solution in the Wagnerian sense. It will result in self-destruction. There is no doubt about that. However, I doubt whether Europe should pay such a high price, whether the Russian people should pay such a high price, and whether the three Baltic peoples should be sacrificed.

[Muechler] Let me ask you a final question. You just mentioned tendencies. People in Germany do not really understand a tendency toward crankiness, toward particularism in the Baltic states. I am referring to the desire of the Baltic republics to introduce their own currencies. Is this useful?

[Meri] You know, the current process aimed at the restoration of the state is an embryonic process. You cannot expect an embryo to speak Estonian, French, and German five minutes after his birth. One must go through everything. Germany did that, too. The German national anthem was designed to create a unified Germany. Can you see that the same historical laws prevail everywhere?

Border Treaty With Latvia Signed

LD2103223192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Estonian Minister of State Uno Veering and Latvian Minister of State Janis Dinevics today signed a treaty on the land border between the states at Valga town hall. According to the treaty, the Estonian-Latvian land border runs in principle along the same line as it did in 1940.

Trade Protocol With Lithuania Signed in Tallinn

LD2203045192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Raivo Kutt, Estonian deputy minister of trade, and Romualdas Ramoska, Lithuanian deputy minister of trade and material resources, today signed a trade protocol in Tallinn. The appendices to the protocol endorse a list of the most important goods and their approximate quantities. Estonia will trade in electronics, electrical motors, power cable, and light industry goods. From Lithuania one will expect construction materials, electronics, medicines, light industry goods, and other goods, Raivo Kutt told ETA.

Estonian, German Ministries Sign Agreement

LD2203050692 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] This afternoon a cooperation agreement was concluded between the Republic of Estonia and the FRG Ministries of Internal Affairs. The agreement was signed by Robert Narska, minister of internal affairs, and Councillor (?Guenther Roman), leader of the German delegation. Robert Narska told the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE that according to the agreement, the German Government will provide aid to the Estonian police worth 3 million German marks between 1992 and 1994. The (?newly) concluded police agreement sets down what these means will be used for. According to the minister of internal affairs, the aid will go toward training Estonian policemen in their homeland as well as abroad, and toward strengthening the material and technical base of the operational and criminal police.

French Foreign Minister Opens Embassy

AU2403085792 Paris AFP in English 2332 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Tallinn, March 24 (AFP)—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas late Sunday [22 March] opened a French embassy in the Estonian capital at a ceremony attended by President Arnold Ruutel and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. After cutting a tricolor ribbon outside the embassy and handing out pieces of the blue, white and red to the crowd, Dumas entered the former grain ministry building placed at the disposal of France and its ambassador, Jacques Huntzinger, by the Estonian Government. The minister recalled that the relations between the two states went back to the 12th century when a Benedictine monk was sent from Troyes to evangelise Estonia.

Dumas said he was delighted that after the long period of "captive republics" in the Baltic region, "the wind of freedom" had swept Estonia.

Foreign Minister Meri, who was brought up in France, said that Estonia's "most urgent problem" as far as foreign policy was concerned was defending its borders.

For the first time a month ago on Estonian national day, he said, the border guards were kitted out in uniforms donated by France.

Committee Protests Savisaar Voting Proposal

LD2203044892 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0700 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The press committee of the Estonian Committee made a statement late last night. It says that the central faction of the Supreme Council led by Edgar Savisaar officially proposed to the Supreme Council that the circle of voters into the parliament be extended by giving the right to vote to all those who have applied for citizenship. The carrying out of this proposal, which is in conflict with the citizenship law, would mean that the elections into the parliament will take place on the basis of the infamous zero-option [incorporating large numbers of Russians], says the statement by the Estonian Committee.

The obvious thinking behind the proposal is to provoke the citizens of foreign states resident in Estonia into demanding a right to vote and thereby also a right to rule which only the lawful citizens of the state can have. Taking into account the demographic situation in Estonia the implementation of a policy of this kind would create preconditions for the continuation of Russification in an independent state. The press committ e of the Estonian Committee emphasizes that the Estonian Committee has declared as null and void the section of the law on the implementation of the citizenship law which allows for citizenship applications to be accepted before the elections into the parliament.

Parliament Approves Formation of Secret Service

LD2003210692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1004 GMT 20 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Tallinn—On March 18, Estonia's Supreme Soviet issued a resolution on forming the republic's security service. The service's activity will be monitored by a supervisory committee set up by the Estonian parliament, including 5 members. The parliament is to

approve the appointment of the security service director general for a term of five years. Under the resolution, each security service officer is to swear that he has not served for the KGB, intelligence or counter-intelligence agencies, or the armed forces which occupied Estonia and that he is not a secret agent of other states. The Estonian parliament is also to prepare draft laws on investigating activities and state secrets within 2 months.

Defense Forces To Be Established in Voru

OW2203165192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1324 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the Estonian telegraph agency, the acting chief of staff of the Estonian defence forces, Ants Laaneots, said two infantry battalions had begun to be formed in the town of Voru, the first two units in the forces. One of them will be commanded by Johannes Kert, who previously headed the Tartu detachment of Kaitseliit, a volunteer defence organisation. A commander for the other battalion has not yet been appointed.

The battalions are being recruited from volunteers and will at first be stationed in Voru. Later on one of them will be transferred to northern Estonia.

The battalions will be given standards which existed in Estonia until 1940.

Premier on Agricultural Problems, Economics

LD2803144492 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Tiit Vahi by correspondent Georg Pelisaar; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Pelisaar] Prime Minister Tiit Vahi, your visit to Vorumaa district began with meeting farmers of the district, and the key words were, of course, procurement prices for agricultural produce and fuel. Your speech, however, did not contain any particular optimism.

[Vahi] As an economic pragmatist, I find it hard to see optimism in the situation in which last year's budget in the state of Estonia was 3 billion in rubles while we bought fuel for $600 million. If one multiplies this at the hard-currency exchange rate, we will arrive at 60 billion [rubles]. And how is one now to compensate the coffers when we have 3 billion and need 60 billion? To me—being an economic pragmatist—this looks very intriguing. But as far as losing our optimism is concerned, I cannot see any reason for this. The people are still guaranteed minimum food in Estonia. Unfortunately, cash shortages affect us, and we cannot implement more effective support systems.

We also have fuel at the moment. There is no danger in any one district that anything will freeze solid. First, because spring is not that far away, and second, because there is still some fuel left. And we also have guarantees that there will be fuel for the spring plowing and spring sowing, even for those—agricultural producers, perhaps, including farmers—who do not have enough money at the moment to purchase fuel. We will find a system—a way to implement this—how to provide them, too, with fuel, perhaps at the expense of their future harvest, by way of credits. We will attempt to locate possibilities within this fragile budget of ours so as to support the people who need assistance; and second, in order to also support farmers, and that includes a possible interim subsidy on the procurement price for agricultural produce—the price of milk.

[Pelisaar] In the afternoon, you met republican district elders. The problems—understandably—were in part the same as in the morning, but not only that.

[Vahi] Apart from the fuel issue; inflation, prices, and additional problems surfaced. First, cash shortages; second, issues to do with the privitization of apartments—apartments being privitized; land reform, and I would voice another important issue—that of additional jobs, as well as the fact that signs indicate that the fifth column, which was actively at work in Estonia before 20 August, has resurfaced and in the current situation of economic decline and under the conditions of declining living standards this is very dangerous indeed. [passage omitted]

Government Introduces Excise Tax on Alcohol

LD2403123792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1852 GMT 21 Mar 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Tallinn—On March 19 Estonian Supreme Soviet adopted the law on excise for alcohol. The law says that if the annual production of alcohol is below 25,000 deca-liters, the excise duty amounts to 35 per cent, if it is within 25 to 150 thousand deca-liters, it is 60 per cent, if it is over 150 thousand deca-liters, it is 84 per cent. The excise duty for domestic wine is 10 per cent. Imported alcoholic beverages purchased for hard currency are taxed from 20 per cent (champagne and sparkling wines) to 100 per cent (vodka, gin, whisky, rum). The excise duty for alcohol bought for non-convertible currency reaches from 30 per cent (champagne, wine) to 400 per cent (alcohol and beverages stronger than 40 degrees).

Latvia

Russian, Latvian Experts Conclude Troop Talks

LD2003000392 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The talks at Ligatne between groups of experts from Latvia and Russia ended today. As a result of the talks a draft agreement will be prepared on a planned withdrawal of the former USSR troops from Latvia.

Proposals will be also prepared for drawing up corresponding addenda to define more precisely the procedure for troop withdrawal.

The sides agreed that within the framework of the agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Latvia and Russia the corresponding government structures will mutually examine the question on future operations of the military factories on the territory of Latvia. The Russian side informed that in April a military establishment in Riga will be handed over to Latvia.

After two weeks the talks will continue in Moscow in order to draw up the final text of the draft agreement.

'Symbolic' Withdrawal Begins

LD1903175392 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] As we have already reported, a withdrawal of the Soviet troops under Russian jurisdiction from the territory of Latvia began today. However, this withdrawal is purely symbolic, because only an individual company in which there are only a few tens of soldiers and 29 vehicles have left Latvian territory.

Journalists, whose numbers were almost as high as the departing soldiers, were addressed after a festive ceremony by Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Northwest Group of Troops. He announced that the army withdrawal will continue after a conclusion of the corresponding agreements between the Republic of Latvia and the Russian Federation. Specific schedules for withdrawal of the troops have not yet been drawn up; therefore, it is not known which unit will be withdrawn next from Latvian territory.

There was discussion today about these schedules, but information on this is rather sketchy. Talks between the groups of experts of the Republic of Latvia and the Russian Federation on the withdrawal of the former USSR troops under the jurisdiction of Russia from the territory of Latvia ended today. Dainis Turlajs, leader of the group of experts of Latvia and commander of the defense forces of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Latvia, told journalists that the talks were constructive and that both sides have decided to continue the work.

Turlajs' stand was supported by Sergey Zotov, leader of the Russian group of experts and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. Zotov said that a general withdrawal of the troops will not take place simply as economic and political questions must be tackled. It has been decided to continue the talks.

Russia Wants 'Sphere of Interests'

LD2003232292 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Military establishments in Latvia will continue to be in Russia's sphere of interests. Sergey Zotov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Foreign Ministry, who is heading the delegation in the talks of experts on the withdrawal of troops, has said that Russia would like to maintain in its sphere of interests some objects on the territory of Latvia. As Zotov said, this would be in the interests not only of Russia but also of a more global policy. This primarily concerns the Skrunda radar station and some other objects.

In the talks at Ligatne, the Russian representatives said that approximately 50-80,000 soldiers and officers are stationed in Latvia at present. Also the aviation, the border guards, and the fleet are included in this number. Previously, when talking about the number of stationed soldiers, the number of 40,000 was mentioned.

The next meeting of experts on the withdrawal of Russian troops of Russia is envisaged at the end of March.

Paratroopers 'Displaying Activity'

LD2203172692 Riga Radio Riga International in English 1830 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] The special Russian Government envoy, Sergey Zotov, who headed the expert group for talks in Latvia, said at a news conference that this week's withdrawal from Latvia of former Soviet troops, now under Russian jurisdiction, was a purely symbolic act, and stressed that full-scale withdrawal would begin only after the two states sign a relevant agreement.

Meanwhile a senior Latvian Defense Ministry official has said that several Russian army paratroop units are displaying activity in the vicinity of Latvian's eastern border. According to the official, the paratroopers are digging trenches and several tank wagons of fuel have arrived in places stationing these units. Latvian defense forces are ready to avert any possible provocations, stressed the anonymous official.

Air Defense Subunit Withdraws From Latvia

PM2403161292 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 92 p 2

[Colonel M. Ziyeminsh report: "Troop Withdrawal From Latvia Has Begun. Air Defense Subunit First To Go"]

[Text] Salatsgriva is a village in northwestern Latvia. The Air Defense radiotechnical subunit, now under the command of Major Aleksandr Moiseyev, has been stationed here for many years.

Now this troop collective has landed a special mission—to start the withdrawal of the former USSR's troops from Latvian territory. A week before this, Latvian Supreme Council Deputy Jurijs Dobelis and Dainis Turlajs, the republic's deputy defense minister, visited Salatsgriva. They both found that the former USSR's military installation is in a good state. The camp will now be put at the disposal of Latvian border guards.

The subunit's destination is to be a Leningrad Military District training center. The fate of the subunit's officers has been decided. All of them, barring one man who has applied to be discharged from the Armed Forces on health grounds, will continue serving in new areas and new posts.

Latvia Not To Pay Share of USSR Foreign Debt

OW2103161592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1532 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has stated that Latvia will not pay its share of the former Soviet Union's foreign debt. This statement is in line with a resolution of the Baltic Council on this issue.

The director of the Latvian Finance Ministry's foreign relations department Alberts Krenevskis told BF [BALTFAX] that after the adoption of this resolution, Latvia cannot hope to receive its money deposited in the Vneshekonombank in Moscow and Riga, all the more so because it is almost a bankrupt.

Krenevskis did not rule out the possibility that the resolution might discourage foreign investments in Latvia.

Godmanis: Gasoline Supplies To Come From West

LD2403121692 Riga Radio Riga International in English 1830 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Meeting with the officials from the Latvian Ministry of Agriculture, Latvian Farmers Union and different social organizations, the Latvian Prime Minister, Ivars Godmanis, repeatedly stressed that the government would provide farmers with the necessary amounts of gasoline for the spring sowing effort and other agricultural works.

Taking into account that Russia, formerly the major energy supplier to Latvia, is not a reliable partner any more, Godmanis informed that the greatest part of gasoline reserves would be bought on credit from Western countries.

Godmanis Comments on Economic Problems

LD2003235492 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Excerpts] At the Council of Ministers today Premier Ivars Godmanis organized an extensive conference of agricultural workers. [passage omitted]

In summing up what was said at the conference, Ivars Godmanis said:

[Begin Godmanis recording] At the time when there is a budget account for the next half-year, we shall already have a clear idea about industrial prices. And however much we itch to do it—and believe me I itch most of all—to cut the prices set by the industrialists, we would not have a clear economic structure of prices.

As soon as the sowing ends, or even during the final period of sowing—it depends on how in the future we tackle the question of power resources and without doubt also on how we normalize the stocks of food that are there, and how we shall pay—this price structure will change and agricultural purchase prices will change.

The only misfortune is that that we have practically no kind of reserves to raise minimum wages. And this is the principal factor which applies the brakes to us in doing this. Because, without raising the minimum wages of a million people, by still increasing prices—or by not increasing, but allowing the state to buy at these prices—it is not possible, as it is, to market more in the trade.

Well, the question is, what reserves are there in the people? I do not know! Are there still reserves to endure this difficult situation or not? Surely they will!

There are variations in the price of alcohol, whether we shall be able to market it at the new price. If we see that the volume is falling greatly, we shall try to reduce the price. The signs are there. But, believe me, the revenue from alcohol is, by the way, one of the rare ones and it will not mend everything. There is the need to pay the interest and also, among other things, the subsidy which will be necessary for heating. And one thing is clear, the cost price for heating in rural areas is much higher that in the towns.

So then, for the next winter capacities must be made operational, including capacities in industry, in construction, in order to try to move away from such fuels as diesel and from the fuels which have been (?exhausted) and which are not in our interests by diversifying heating, especially in rural areas where this more possible than in town. Because this is the No. 1 problem. I cannot at present imagine even purely as a model the solution to this problem. I know that in Russia it will be the same, only the subsidies there will be more than tens of billions of rubles, unlike our 500 million rubles which also, of course, does not mean anything much. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Functions Law Adopted

OW1903053792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2006 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 18, the Latvian parliament adopted a law on the Council of Ministers of the Latvian Republic which regulates the Latvian government's activity before elections to the Sejm. Leader of the working group which drafted this law, deputy of the Latvian parliament Guntis Grube, told BF [BALTFAX] that this law was the first normative document regulating the Latvian government's activity.

According to it, the government has the right to pass laws exclusively within the limits of the laws and resolutions adopted by the Latvian parliament. Once a year, the Council of Ministers will present an account of its work

to the parliament. The post of member of the Council of Ministers shall not be combined with any other paid work except research, teaching or artistic endeavor, says the law. Neither can its members be engaged in entrepreneurship if the enterprises in question are state-run, or fulfil a state order.

The Council of Ministers' sessions shall be closed. In dealings with other countries, the Council of Ministers shall be represented by its chairman and by the foreign minister. The rest of the members shall represent the government and sign inter-governmental treaties if they are authorized to do so by the Council of Ministers.

Upon resignation, ministers shall retain for six months 80 per cent of their salary, if they have not been given another job, or if they do not receive a pension.

Commissions Formed To Oversee Privatization

LD2003195192 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2130 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The Supreme Council of Latvia enacted a law on the commissions of privatization of state and municipal property today, setting out unified principles for all commissions to be established to execute privatization of state and municipal property. According to the law a privatization commission is to be set up for each item of the state property sold to private hands while privatization of municipal property may be conducted by one permanent commission. Privatization commissions should include employees and trade union representatives as well as members of the ministry to which the enterprise is subordinated, states the law.

Supreme Council Discusses Foreign Currency

LD2003220692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Anta Busa reports from the Supreme Council that the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia this morning discussed only one, but an important question, on the state foreign currency budget of the Republic of Latvia.

The plenary session voted to reject the draft foreign currency budget submitted by the government. The reasons for this are that actually this budget does not exist. For example, Indulis Ozols, deputy head of the joint budget commission, reported that the government included in the combined revenue of $11.3 million the $6.4 million which are in Moscow in the blocked accounts of the Foreign Economic Bank. As is known, this bank has already gone bankrupt.

Actually, almost $5 million dollars would remain in the revenue part of the Latvian state foreign currency budget, which at the present moment no longer exist, because in the first three months of this year more than $4 million has already been spent. For example, payments in foreign currency have been made for the repair of the Opera House theater, payments have been made to various international organizations which cannot be joined without paying a corresponding foreign currency amount.

Moreover, other previously concluded (?contacts) are also being paid for. As the deputies said, if the Ventspils oil base had not subsidized the Latvian Government with $1.2 million of their own free will, so to speak, we would already have been incapable of paying.

Premier Ivars Godmanis basically supported the draft resolution prepared by the budget commission, but proposed two possible versions on how to save the situation and how to obtain, after all, some of the money which we have lost in the blocked accounts. He thinks that this question should be submitted for examination at the International Court because, for example, the Soviet Union has indicated that the Latvian Republic is responsible for $1.6 billion of the total debt of the USSR, which Latvia is not prepared to pay. This was announced by the political resolution of the Baltic Council.

Furthermore, Godmanis believes that perhaps our own debt might be sold to some foreign firm, a bank, and then of the $5 million which are now in Moscow in escrow some 20 percent of foreign currency might be recovered through this third party. Although, as the premier immediately said, from a juridical standpoint this is completely impossible, but one might try.

As we have already reported, the Supreme Council rejected this unrealistic foreign currency budget and tasked the government with the obligation to draft by 4 April something more realistic. But what will happen if on 4 April that draft also turns out to be like this one, of the same kind of quality? None of the deputies was able to answer this question.

On the other hand, Mr. Godmanis promised to insure that normal foreign currency accounting and control of payments will be organized. First of all, the present finance inspectorate should be eliminated and a completely new one formed. Second, it is quite necessary to establish as quickly as possible, within less than three months, a state apparatus founded upon law.

China Threatens To Close Embassy Over Taiwan

OW2103161492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1532 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [20 March] the Latvian government formally established diplomatic relations with Taiwan. At BF's [BALTFAX] request, the adviser of the Chinese embassy in Russia Li Fanchzhun commented on the Chinese government's attitude toward this move.

"We are strongly against developing official relations with Taiwan in any form by the countries which have already established diplomatic relations with China," Li Fanchzhun noted. He described Riga's step as a violation of its obligations before China. The Chinese diplomat warned that unless the Latvian government breaks off diplomatic relations with Taiwan, China would have to close its embassy in Riga.

Fuel Supply Deal Settled With Finland

LD2503065892 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] The Latvian Government has bought 56,000 tonnes of diesel fuel and 16,000 tonnes of A76 gasoline from Finland. This was disclosed at a news conference today by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Arijs Ziverts. Ninety percent of the total value of the deal will be guaranteed to the Finnish Neste company by the Finnish Government but 10 percent had already been paid for by Latvia. According to the agreement, the remainder must be paid in half a year's time.

As Arijs Ziverts said, there is no precise information currently from which funds this will be paid. However, this is one possible variant: the supply of birch (?wood) and agricultural goods to Finland and the remainder of the repayment as some (?loan for) humanitarian aid. [Words indistinct] debt may be covered for the sale of the fuel [word indistinct] in rubles, in freely convertible currency.

The first 25,000 tonnes of diesel fuel have already been received at the port of Ventspils. The remaining diesel fuel and gasoline will be received in the coming week. In Arijs Ziverts' view, there will be enough fuel after this purchase to provide for sowing in Latvia.

Weapons From CSFR Delivered to Riga Airport

LD1503031792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1720 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Riga—On March 12, a TU-154 air-liner landed at Skulte Airport delivering a shipment of arms and military gear to Riga from Czechoslovakia.

The cargo was received by an impressive escort of soldiers armed with submachine guns and, for greater security, one machine gun, the republican newspaper SM-SEGODNYA writes on March 14. Yevgeniy Bogdan, acting deputy-commander of the defense forces of the Latvian Republic replied to a SM correspondent that the questions relating to the qualitative and quantitative status of the defense forces of Latvia are not to be discussed in mass media.

Military Planes Export Latvian Goods Illegally

LD2203063792 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Latvian customs has reported about the illegal removal of cargoes by military transport aircraft. As reported to the Customs Department of Latvia by representatives of several customs posts, taking away of Latvian goods by military transport aircraft at the disposal of Russian troops continues.

Army representatives were categorically prohibiting the representatives of Latvian customs to inspect the cargoes of these aircraft, although it could be seen that these were not of a military nature. The customs representatives have expressed the need for controlling, in the future, approach roads to military airfields.

Farmers To Receive Long-Term Loans

OW2103083792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1421 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian parliament has granted 41.8 million rubles to the Latvian Bank for giving long-term loans to farmers for ten years. The money was allocated from the non-budgetary privatization fund of the Latvian government.